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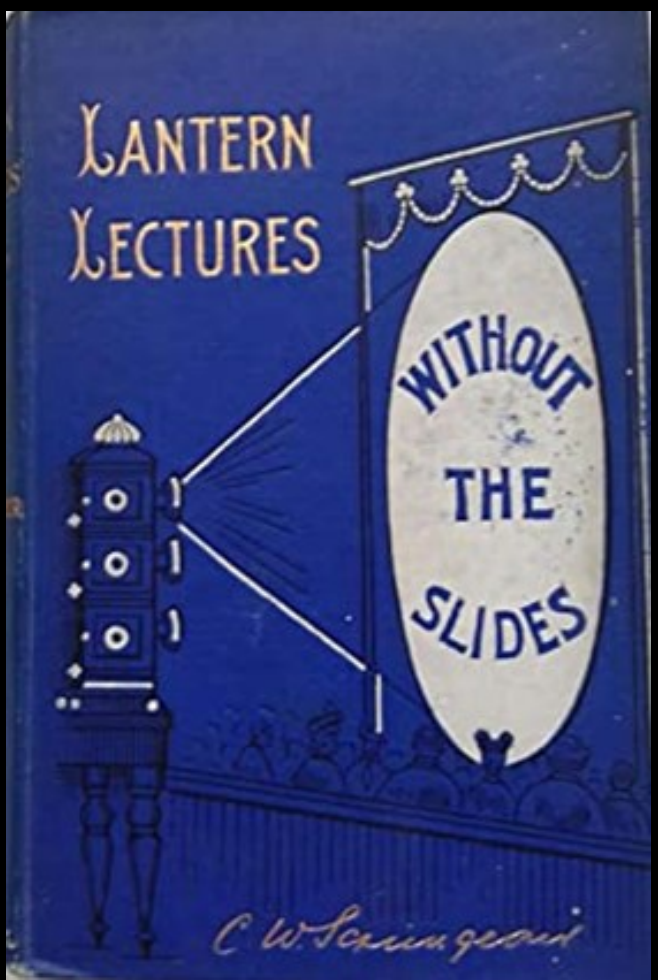

The Magic Lantern Society of
the United States and Canada

www.magiclanternsociety.org

This is the first issue of a new publication, *The Magic Lantern Gazette Research Supplement*, which will continue the tradition of publishing serious scholarly research on the history and culture of the magic lantern and related topics. Indeed, discerning readers will notice that this issue bears a striking resemblance to the "old" *Magic Lantern Gazette*. The relatively low cost of printing makes it possible for us to publish articles of almost any length, including those too long to fit into typical academic journals.

In the feature article for this inaugural issue, Nico de Klerk undertakes a detailed analysis of printed Lantern Readings that were designed to accompany sets of educational lantern slides. The author is a postdoctoral researcher working with a team of Dutch investigators at Utrecht University on a project entitled *Projecting knowledge—the magic lantern as a tool for mediated science communication in the Netherlands, 1880-1940*. This in turn has connections with a previous cooperative project, *A Million Pictures*, which forms the basis of a new book reviewed in this issue.

Some years ago, the decision was made to make issues of *The Magic Lantern Gazette* accessible to the public on the web page of the Special Collections Department of the San Diego State University Library (https://library.sdsu.edu/scua/digital/resources/magic-lantern-pubs/gazette). Issues of the *Research Supplement* will be posted there as well.

The increased accessibility of the *Gazette* to scholars outside of our society membership has led to a substantial increase in scholarly citations of research published there. Some months ago I did a Google Scholar search for citations of *The Magic Lantern Gazette*. I found more than 65 citations of articles by a dozen or more authors, stretching back more than 20 years. This does not include citations within the *Gazette* itself, because a Google Scholar search does not turn up issues of the *Gazette*, which is not an official online journal (A regular Google search does turn up articles published in the *Gazette*). Scholars who have cited work published in the *Gazette* come from all over the world, including the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, Russia, Japan, South Korea, Australia, and South Africa.

In the past, the *Gazette* has been particularly strong on American magic lantern history and culture, although as this issue shows, as editor, I am interested in articles relating to any part of the world. If you are doing research on magic lanterns that can be presented in relatively long, well documented articles, with interesting illustrations, please consider submitting your work to the *Research Supplement*. Articles derived from recent Ph.D. dissertations are particularly welcome, even if some of the material has been or will be published in a book or academic journal.

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Season's Greetings from the Magic Lantern Society of the United States and Canada

On Lantern Readings, or "The speech expected of certain members of society whenever they open their mouths."

Nico de Klerk

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This essay discusses the topic of lantern readings, the printed brochures that were meant to support non-professional lantern lecturers in their performances. In line with the scope of our research project, I will limit this paper to public educational lectures. Many scholarly studies of lantern culture have focused on photographic and lantern projection technologies, equipment, and slides. By comparison, researchers have paid scant attention to lantern readings and their delivery, or to the public illustrated lecture as an interactive event. The essay is an attempt to put some weight on the other side of the scale.

As a scripted memory aid, the lantern reading was the basis of a sustained, predominantly non-character, direct address. An essential part of the public lantern lecture, the reading preceded, accompanied, or followed a sequence of projected slides that would otherwise have remained indeterminate, if not puzzling. For such a performance to go over well, however, the mere creation of coherence and continuity would have been insufficient. Its success also rested on a *dispositif* that established a simultaneous, mutual acknowledgment of lecturer and audience. One of the major challenges in the study of these brochures is the absence of information about lecturers and audiences and the interactions between them.

Given the small volume of Dutch archival materials and a shortage of research, I felt compelled to go beyond the geographic boundary of this research project. My discussion is therefore largely based on a few online collections of readings in the United Kingdom and France (where they are called *notices sur les vues* or *notices explicatives*), as well as a number of lectures of (semi)-professional performers, advice literature, and instruction manuals from (online) publications and repositories in the United States and Austria. Research coming out of the recent, renewed interest in lantern culture was, of course, consulted as well. This enabled me to paint a composite, albeit still incomplete picture.[2]

Lantern vs. Film Lecturing

In the last quarter of the 19th century, the rise of the photographically illustrated public lecture provided opportunities for a new crop of nonprofessional lecturers. Publishers, dealers, and other lantern-related businesses and organizations saw an opportunity, too, in producing so-called lantern readings that were specifically targeted at these newcomers. Published as brochures, these ready-made texts accompanied a fixed series of slides on general interest topics. The popularity of public lectures in the United Kingdom or France, for example, is reflected in their material legacy, as lantern readings in these countries have survived in relatively large numbers—a few thousand titles to date—but still less abundant than the glass slides that accompanied them. In the Netherlands, where the public illustrated lecture flourished between the late 1890s and the 1950s, only a small number of readings has been retrieved (as opposed to tens of thousands of slides[3]). Unfortunately many brochures, along with business papers, probably were discarded in ways standard for everyday materials considered obsolete.

However, some four dozen printed brochures delivered in conjunction with silent film screenings, all issued by the Koloniaal Instituut in Amsterdam during the 1910s and 1920s, have come down to us, possibly constituting the entire Dutch legacy of this type of text (Fig. 1). We

Negatief N°. 48.

KOLONIAAL INSTITUUT - AMSTERDAM.

N 32

TOELICHTING

bij de Kinematografische opname betreffende

HET BATIKKEN.[1])

Niet te vlug afdraaien.

Lengte 163 M.
Gewicht 1,13 K. G.
Tijdduur 12 Min.

De film vertoont het bedrijf in zeer beknopten vorm, en laat slechts de hoofdbewerkingen in de gebruikelijke volgorde zien, zonder dat een bepaald doek als voorbeeld gebezigd wordt afgewerkt, aangezien daartoe te veel herhalingen van eenzelfde bewerking noodig zijn.

De film vangt aan met het oliën van het doek, dus nadat het scheuren, koomen, uitwasschen en drogen zijn afgeloopen.

1 Oliën van het doek.

Men ziet twee mannen het doek dompelen in eene kuip, gevuld met een mengsel van katjang of wel djarakolie en loog. Het doek wordt hier flink doorgehaald, geknepen en uitgewrongen, waarna de mannen met het doek, over bamboe draagstellingen gehangen, naar de werkplaats gaan, alwaar het doek in de zon wordt gedroogd. Het oliën geschiedt ook wel door kneden met de voeten.

Al deze bewerkingen behoeven te worden herhaald. Door het opvolgend oliën, en het drogen in de zon, ondergaat de vezel eene chemische verandering, waardoor zij later de verf beter houdt, terwijl voorts het al te zeer indringen van was en verf wordt voorkomen.

1) Bij deze film behoort eene uitvoerige inleiding, die op aanvraag ter lezing wordt verstrekt.

— 1 —

De overige titels zijn van Pathé en komen dus niet in het negatief voor.

Fig. 1. Dutch brochure containing a reading to accompany a motion picture lecture.

owe the survival of these brochures to their repeated use for a decade since their publication in 1918, coinciding with the institute's second film catalog.[4] Called *Toelichtingen* (Illustrations), these texts served as obligatory readings, assigned to subject experts, which complemented the informational films the institute had sponsored in the early 1910s. Screened in nontheatrical venues, these performances—"lectures" as they were actually called—were closely modeled after the lantern lecture, which this institute also deployed more or less in parallel; its first catalog of slide series was published in 1917.[5] However, this seeming similarity between lantern and film lecture should not obscure the fact that their respective business models may well have contributed to these different survival rates.

Before delving into the lantern reading, I want to reflect a little on this difference and point out why there is no clear genealogy between these forms of lecturing.[6] Particularly in commercial cinema theaters during the period of early cinema, the cut-off point of which is commonly set in the mid-1910s,[7] programs of mostly short films changed frequently: weekly, twice weekly, or more, depending on location, company, type of venue, business hours, etc.; in the years after the mid-1910s, weekly changes remained common.[8] Consequently, there may not have been much to throw away in the first place, as there was no compelling need for lecturers to put their comments in writing, let alone print—even less if we accept that lecturers were under pressure to distinguish themselves from colleagues in nearby theaters.[9] Film lecturing appears to have been a matter of preparation based on previews or on synopses in program bills whenever made available by production or distribution companies, as well as improvisation or the personality of the lecturer. For all we know, which isn't much, lecturers probably relied on relevant professional experience from variety shows or the legitimate theater, and the fairground; on lines of work that required some form of public speech, such as teaching or preaching; or on informal advice from colleagues.[10]

In most countries, film lecturing was a relatively short-lived phenomenon, largely extinct before the end of the era of silent cinema as a whole. During those years, in Holland, not all cinema theaters employed a lecturer, and some did so only part of the time. One reason, I venture, is that in small cinemas, and even in bigger ones in times of adverse economic conditions (notably World War I), the employment of lecturers cut into a theater's profit margin. At such moments a lecturer's contribution to a film show might have been considered easily 'detachable.' Clearly, though, all my hedges—"there seemed," "for all we know," "I venture"—point up the need for deeply researched studies that chart the ups and downs of both commercial and nontheatrical film lecturing in a given market.[11]

From available sources in the Netherlands, such as (digitized) program bills, film reviews, and advertisements in newspapers and the trade press, one learns that the lecturer was not standardly mentioned, even by theaters that were known to employ one. Ads, of course, commonly focused on what was new—a series of films—rather than on what was known, such as a theater's lecturer. Published reviews of feature films were increasingly based on separate press screenings that did not require a lecturer's services nor, plausibly, a theater's orchestra. This is not to deny that some film lecturers were able to create names for themselves. But given the largely incomplete or anecdotal evidence, it remains an open question whether overall they were bigger crowd-pullers than the films exhibited.[12]

Lecturing in photographically illustrated, public lantern shows, on the other hand, lasted close to three quarters of a century in the Low Countries, and plausibly elsewhere, too. More important than its duration is that, unlike film lecturing, the lantern lecture was an inherent, inseparable element of these performances. Its texts were published and distributed within a business that was intent on comprehensiveness and topicality, not on novelty.[13] Their print runs matched the longer life cycle of their corresponding slide sets.[14]

The public illustrated lecture coincided with and supported a general, international wave of popular uplift and emancipatory initiatives, as well as new public education legislation around the turn of the 20th century. The popularity of the illustrated lecture was enabled and sustained by mass-produced photographic slides that replaced the unique, often more expensive hand-painted slides common in other lecture genres. However, their scale of production was not a straightforward outcome of industrial processes of standardization and rationalization. Besides understandable resistance from those who felt their interests were being threatened—painters, draughtsmen, engravers—projected photographic images took some time to be marketed. An important reason was that they necessitated a change in the technological setup of a lecture's *dispositif*, particularly the development of projection equipment to match the visual qualities of photographic transparencies. In Europe and the United States, early manufacturers of photographic lantern slides often produced both glass stereoscopic views and photographic slides for lantern projection. The latter enabled large groups of people to simultaneously view images available only to individual viewers through a stereoscope.[15] Once these obstacles were overcome, roughly by the late 1860s, and new businesses emerged that marketed products used by lantern lecturers,[16] conditions were in place for a new practice.[17]

The mass-produced lantern reading allowed more lecturers, of lesser experience, to enter the field of the illustrated lecture. In fact, for educational slide sets, which often broached new or unfamiliar topics, accompanying texts were indispensable. Moreover, they relied less, if at all, on well-known narratives the way, say, fairy tales, Biblical, or Dickensian stories did. In Dutch newspapers this was reflected in an enduring way of advertising in which the post-modifier *met lichtbeelden* ("with slides") was put within parentheses or in smaller print than the word *lezing* ("lecture"), its title, or the lecturer's name (Fig. 2). In addition, it was common for newspaper reviews to report on the lecture only, whether or not taking notes had been frustrated by the dimmed lights that projection required.[18] Nor, incidentally, did Dutch newspapers register a development similar to early 20th-century public illustrated lectures in France. There, a practice copied from the academy, of integrating projected slides and lecture to allow simultaneous comment on the visuals, had begun to replace the common practice of projecting slides after the lecture.[19]

Ritual

A performative as well as interactive event, my notion of the public lecture for this essay will be mostly limited, in accordance with our research project's scope, to a *dispositif* of knowledge dissemination through what were collectively called "associations of rational recreation."[20] They provided illustrated edification or instruction beyond what is called, in its common, institutionally circumscribed sense, teaching. The latter assumes a stable repeat audience—a class—that responds in ways that fulfill the expectation of its active involvement during or after lessons. Theoretically, the content of a lantern reading for a general public could well have been more or less identical to one for pupils and students, but it would have sharply differed in a number of aspects.

In focusing on these aspects I take my lead from anthropologist Milton B. Singer's term *cultural performance*. Coined to identify those events for which performance, verbal or otherwise, is requisite, a cultural performance is considered prominent in and significant for a culturally defined community or society. In fact, the performance itself may be constitutive—think of national commemorative events. It is therefore deserving of and executed with more circumspection than other performative events, such as street musicians, and is commonly scheduled at specific time slots at designated venues.[21] As well it is programmatically and organizationally elaborate, and typically involves a form of staging. Being public and relatively formal, the distribution of roles and obligations of performers and audience are quite distinct. In small communities, where performers also practice more mundane professions (teachers, preachers, merchants), such distinction may alternate with

Chr. Volksbond.
Cursusvergadering
Maandag 15 Januari,
des avonds 8 uur,
in het gebouw der „LOGE",
Fluweele Burgwal.
Spreker: Dr. L. HELDRING.
Onderwerp: DOOR PALESTINA
(met lichtbeelden). 2416
HET BESTUUR.
den Haag, 13 Januari 1900.
op Dinsdag 29 Nov. a.s.,
in 't Café van den Heer WOLTHEKKER, te houden door den Heer
C. DOETS, Directeur der Ambachtsschool te Hoogeveen, over:
„De verhouding der Ambachten tot de Kunst in het verleden, heden en in de toekomst", toe te lichten met lichtbeelden.
Aanvang 8 uur.
Voor Leden en Belangstellenden.
Bestuur der Afd. Assen van de Vereen ter bevordering v/h. Ambachtsonderwijs in Drenthe.
HANDELS LABORATORIUM
voor Textiel onderzoek van
Lollegracht 22. — J. W. LASEUR. — Amsterdam.
CURSUS IN TEXTIEL KUNDE
MET LICHTBEELDEN, MONSTERS EN PROEVEN.
Aanvang half October. Duur ca. 5 maanden.
GRONDSTOFFENLEER
Spinnen - Weven - Appreteur - Warenkennis - Textielonderzoek.
Prospectus met uitv. inlichtingen en leerplan op aanvraag aan bovenstaand adres
VOLKSUNIVERSITEIT.
Moderne Nederlandsche Schilderkunst
(met lichtbeelden) door Dr. G. KNUTTEL Wzn.
Aanvang Dinsdag 14 Januari, des avonds half acht in Maison de Bruijn, Eusebius buitensingel 50.
Toegang op vertoon van Cursuskaart of tegen betaling van f 3.50 's avonds aan de zaal.
DR. PAUL JULIEN
De bekende spreker voor den K.R.O. houdt op Woensdag 14 Februari te 8.15, in de Tivoli-bovenzaal, voor de Nederl. Reisvereeniging voor Kath. afd. R'dam, de lezing met lichtbeelden en film „Onder de Pygmeeën van Equatoriaal Afrika". Kaarten 40 cents bij H. J. Chapel, Leeuwenstr. 15. Toegang voor alle Kath. ook niet-leden.
Maand van Vriendschap met de Sowjet-Unie
De vereniging Nederland—U.S.S.R. houdt de volgende lezing met lichtbeelden
De Sport in de Sowjet-Unie
door de heer L. D. Kramer, die in de Sowjet-Unie een studie over de sport maakte, op Donderdag 25 Mei, gebouw Lückner, Rozengracht 207, zaal open 7.30 uur. Aanvang 8 uur. Entrée 25 ct.

***Haagsche Courant*, January 15, 1900**

***Provinciale Drentsche en Asser Courant*, November 18, 1910**

***Algemeen Handelsblad*, October 4, 1920**

***Arnhemsche Courant*, January 11, 1930**

***De Maasbode*, February 7, 1940**

***De Waarheid*, May 23, 1950**

Fig. 2. Dutch newspaper ads for lectures illustrated "with slides" ("met lichtbeelden") 1900-1950.

more porous relations between the performer and the audience.[22] For these reasons I propose that photographically illustrated lectures, particularly during their heyday in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, potentially fall into the category of cultural performance.[23] I say 'potentially' because a select class of events, such as public lectures, dramatic performances, or award ceremonies, may be counted as cultural performances, each instance is subject to an evaluation as to whether it has lived up to the expectation and reputation a given society has conferred upon it. This, of course, is intrinsic to such events, as their open display for an audience means a risk each time they are being performed and may in the long run contribute to their transformation, decay, or disappearance.[24]

Singer's work was primarily concerned with large-scale cultural change. But many of the aspects he discussed—verbal performance, formality, and distribution of roles—were rehearsed in sociologist Erv-

ing Goffman's essay on the lecture.[25] Although his essay describes the lecture in the abstract—systematic data collection and analysis were not his forte[26]—Goffman's uniquely perceptive observations of everyday interactive events warrant its use as a point of orientation. Specifically, he understood the lecture in ritual terms.[27] Derived from Émile Durkheim's notion of sacred objects, ritual in Goffman's view identifies a moment whenever two or more people are aware of each other's presence and share a focus of attention, during which time mutual respect is expected in order to achieve the course of action of everyone involved, individually or coordinately, without trouble. Thus, ritual occurs in fleeting situations, such as passing each other on a street, or in prolonged or involved ones, such as delivering and attending a lecture.[28]

In this view, a lecture is a reciprocal arrangement that assumes distinct obligations: one party is expected to speak in a certain way at a scheduled length, whereas the other is expected to listen and give more or less narrowly prescribed forms of feedback (applause, questions and answers, etc.).[29] For these parties to become what he calls *ratified* participants in the event, mutual acknowledgment is not merely presupposed, as in mainstream stage plays (while at the same time ostensibly denied by the performers during the play). It needs to be demonstrated during each performance. This means that, notwithstanding their privileged position as "an entity held to be of value,"[30] speakers who fail to acknowledge their listeners, but rigidly stick to a prepared text, may soon find that the audience loses interest in the lecture.

It follows from this that lecturers will be under some pressure to make clear, whether heartfelt or not, that their elevated position, their "value," is for the mere convenience of the event and should not be taken as a reflection of personality. Speakers may find it expedient to profess a sense of modesty, as in a 1902 advisory article's recommendation, "When lecturing in a strange place make a few graceful remarks about the organizers of the lecture."[31] Lecturers also may briefly insert digressions, anecdotes, jokes, and other witticisms into their talks to establish rapport with the audience.

Although such remarks may seem unscripted, often they are not, certainly when coming from seasoned lecturers. Furthermore, unforeseen impediments, such as the noise of a latecomer, failures of sound or image equipment, or a lecturer's own flub, will be smoothly accommodated or addressed, displaying the speakers' alertness to the situation. Such moments are opportunities par excellence to demonstrate that they and their listeners have a "shared awareness of what [they] are doing."[32] And here, too, no compelling reason can be thought up why lecturers should not meet these incidents with a ready-made response.

Goffman's essay is instructive for identifying a lecture's 'fault lines'. It grounds the rules and pointers in advice literature ranging from Michael Faraday's recommendations (e.g. "His whole behaviour should evince a respect for his audience, and he should in no case forget that he is in their presence."[33]); Francisque Sarcey's warnings ("When reading, eyes fixed on the page, one never takes in the crowd and magnetizes it; when reciting, one's gaze plunges inward, hypnotized by memory's travail"[34]), to today's upbeat online advice (e.g. "a joke or two can do a lot to keep your audience listening" or "talking without any enthusiasm for the topic can deplete energy in the room and eclipse your message."[35]). Although Gofffman's observations are implied to have general application, the essay actually deals with rather formal and, above all, impersonal lectures. With that I mean events in which speakers do not come from the midst of their audience's community, but are outsiders of some repute invited to "a strange place" (a set-up similar to lecturing before a dispersed community of professional peers gathered at a conference).

This is the kind of lecture one typically finds reviewed in Dutch newspapers, most likely prompted by name recognition. Whether the lecture was part of a series or a stand-alone event, such reviews convey a sense of a lecture's significance and tell us about administrators, chairpersons, emcees, or others prominent in an event's organization who welcome and thank sponsors, advisers, or co-workers, point out dignitaries in the audience, or acclaim the merit of the occasion, before introducing the featured speaker. This linguistic red carpet prevents an invited lecturer from unceremoniously strolling on stage and start speaking as well as from exiting without a thanksgiving on behalf of the organizers, if not all those present. This type of lecture, however, only partly covers the scope of my topic, as public illustrated lectures also came in less impersonal shapes.

Guidance

In rural and small-town France during the last third of the 19th century, for instance, many lecturers actually came from the midst of their audiences. Since the mid-1860s, the Ligue française de l'Enseignement had been mobilizing local teachers to lecture at *conférences populaires* and *universités populaires*, in addition to their day jobs as teachers, or at night at continuation schools for adults and adolescents.[36] The fact that these lectures were delivered by people familiar with their audience may well have allowed easier conversational give-and-take, even though

commonly perceived differences of class or age may have stood in the way. Local manifestations of control over public illustrated lectures between highly rivalrous state– and church-led initiatives may have affected social relations on the ground. To date not much is known about the everyday routines, methods, or interactions of these teachers.[37]

Despite the increasing popularity of such lectures since the 1870s,[38] aided since the 1880s by the projection of photographic slides, local speakers often were confronted with a growing number of topics with which they were not familiar, limiting their ability to provide meaningful explanations for commercially available slides.[39] In small communities, the dearth of public libraries and the lack of relevant books and other source materials were the main obstacles. Moreover, the associations involved in organizing public illustrated lectures were not very forthcoming; besides the slides, they commonly provided only bibliographic references, with little guidance as to where these references could be found. These circumstances accelerated the introduction of mass-produced printed readings, the *notices*, in the 1890s, when the organization of illustrated lectures became state-supported and centralized through the Société nationale des Conférences populaires and, later, the Musée pédagogique de l'État (the latter became both the repository and lending library for the joint slide collections of the Ligue française de l'Enseignement, the Société nationale des Conférences populaires, as well as the Société du Havre).[40]

The tardy development of public libraries in France has been recorded,[41] but the picture, though still sketchy, has been sharpened by more recent research. Book historian Martyn Lyons, for instance, has pointed out that since the 1850s, a time when the public library existed only in "embryonic form," a national network of bookshops emerged, down to small provincial towns, making for "a brief historical moment, the retail bookshop . . . a vital agent of cultural uniformity." Nonetheless, he has to backtrack a bit when he writes that bookstores, like public libraries, appear to have differed significantly from one place to another.[42] Historian of publishing Jean-Yves Mollierhas researched a number of widely read periodicals and best-selling book series that popularized science during the last quarter of the 19th century.[43]

Lyons noted that in mid-century, teachers in certain regions "relied for their income on collecting fees from parents." These fees often were low, forcing teachers to take up a second job.[44] One wonders whether teachers could have afforded these books. Presumably their financial situation had improved somewhat by the turn of the 20th century, but a contemporary practical guide mentioned teachers-cum-lecturers' unfamiliarity with relevant books and journals.[45] That, possibly, was part truth and part sales talk, as it draws attention to the titles that could be borrowed from the well-stocked library of the Musée pédagogique, backed up by a catalog and a sample order form. In addition it lists various collections of brochures and periodicals with articles that "can be transformed into lectures" and features a few ready-made readings.[46] This guide, along with the existing collection of almost 900 *notices* that accompanied an estimated 2,000 topics for projection, indicates the level of support for teachers and lecturers by the government. At the time housed at the Musée pédagogique, they can now be consulted at the website of the Musée national de l'Éducation (henceforth MUNAÉ), in Rouen.[47]

Not all of these printed texts, though, were full-blown readings. Instead they often provided skeleton information for each slide in a set for speakers to elaborate upon. The introduction to a *notice* titled *Jeanne d'Arc* (Fig. 3) explains, "In order to ease the task for lecturers who will have no documents at hand, we have limited ourselves here by providing concise information to each picture, monument or painting presented."[48] While one wonders if this "concise information" actually eased a speaker's task, the length of such vignettes was not standardized and varied from a brief paragraph to up to a few pages.

CONFÉRENCES POPULAIRES
AVEC
Projections Lumineuses

JEANNE D'ARC

NOTICES RÉSUMÉES PAR
J.-E. BULLOZ O. I.
Adoptées par la *Ligue de l'Enseignement.*

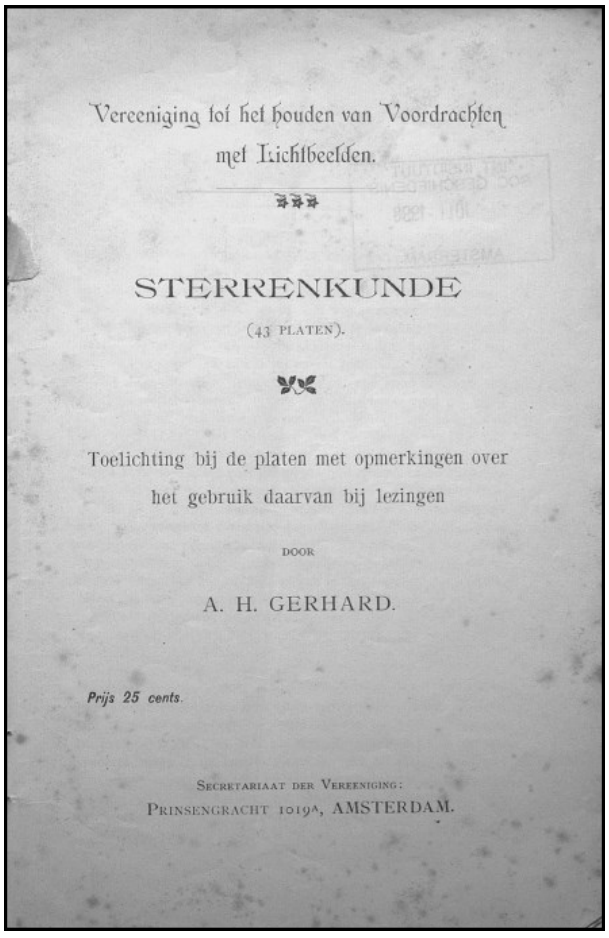
MAISON ARTISTIQUE
D'ÉDITIONS PHOTOGRAPHIQUES ET DE VULGARISATION
PAR L'IMAGE
21, RUE BONAPARTE, 21
PARIS
1900

8° Z
4692

Fig. 3. French reading for a lecture on Joan of Arc (1900).

The same author wrote a number of *three-page* evocations of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 for slides showing a painting of a significant scene, alternated with shorter descriptions.[49]

A variety of similar practices could be found elsewhere. For instance, news reports in the Netherlands stated that the production of Dutch-language readings in the 1890s was inspired by the French example.[50] So far no correspondence between French and Dutch organizations, notably the Vereeniging tot het houden van Voordrachten met Lichtbeelden (Association for Delivering Illustrated Lectures) has been found. In 1900 this association published a brochure on astronomy (Fig. 4) whose author advocated the selection of a small number of slides to lecture on, while the remaining ones were clustered and commented upon more concisely. Thus the lecture could be kept to the point and the topic simple.[51]


Vereeniging tot het houden van Voordrachten met Lichtbeelden.

STERRENKUNDE

(43 PLATEN).

Toelichting bij de platen met opmerkingen over het gebruik daarvan bij lezingen

DOOR

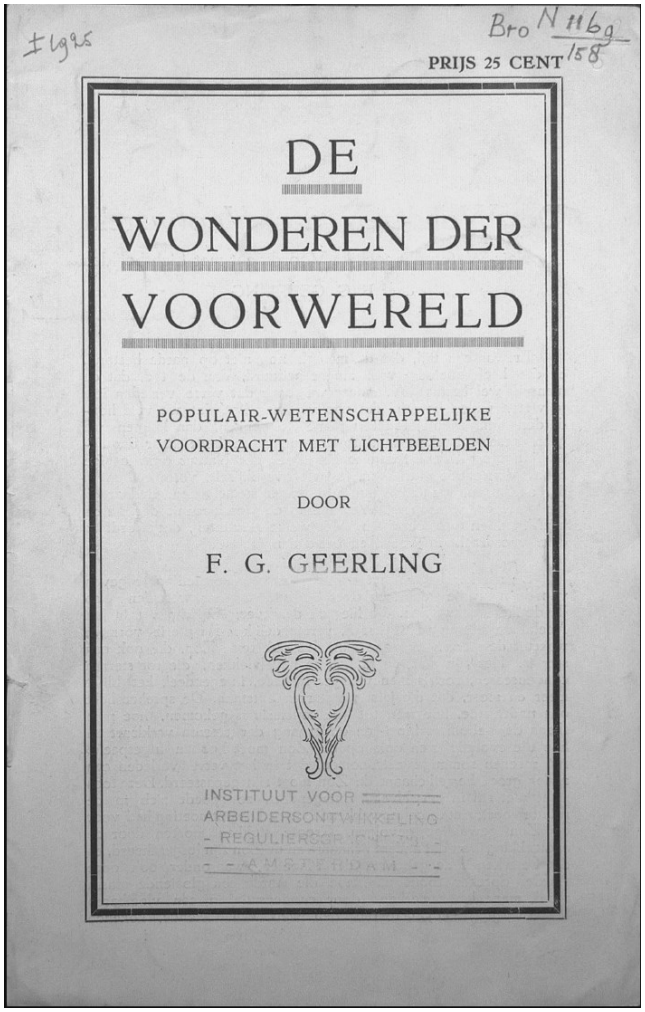
A. H. GERHARD.

Prijs 25 cents.

SECRETARIAAT DER VEREENIGING:
PRINSENGRACHT 1019A, AMSTERDAM.

Fig.4. Dutch brochure on astronomy (1900) that could be used as a source for an illustrated lecture.

In the 1910s, the Koloniaal Instituut in Amsterdam produced "short manuals" with factual information that could be adapted to lectures and short talks for both its traveling exhibits and slide shows on the cultivation of tropical cash crops.[52] A Dutch booklet on prehistory, published in a popular science series , was essentially an eight-page instruction manual, its space partly devoted to illustrations and a bibliography (Fig. 5).


Bro N 1169
158
PRIJS 25 CENT

DE
WONDEREN DER
VOORWERELD

POPULAIR-WETENSCHAPPELIJKE
VOORDRACHT MET LICHTBEELDEN

DOOR

F. G. GEERLING

INSTITUUT VOOR
ARBEIDERSONTWIKKELING
- REGULIERSGRACHT -
- AMSTERDAM -

Fig. 5. Above: Dutch booklet on prehistoric life that could be used as a source for illustrated lantern slide lectures.

Right: Illustration of a coal forest from the brochure.

The booklet contains such sentences as, "Speaker begins by giving us a brief summary of the latest theories of the origin of the planets"—theories a prospective lecturer was apparently expected to read up on from the bibliography—while "speaker" is to end with a brief discussion of "the big issue of the descent of man" (Fig. 6).[53]

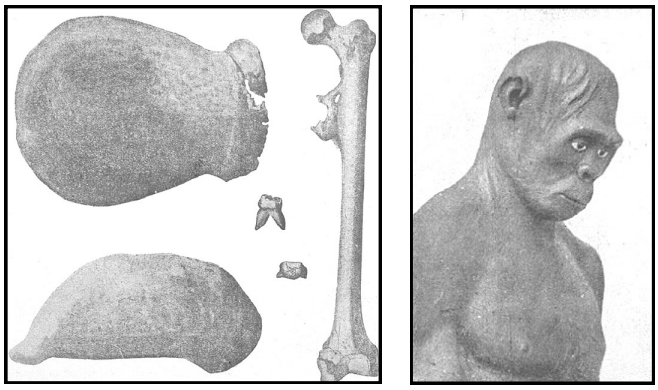


Fig. 6. Illustrations of Java Man (*Homo erectus*), discovered by Dutch paleoanthropologist Eugène Dubois in 1891.

An Austrian source, too, explicitly urged lecturers to do their research:

> Only he who has seriously and thoroughly considered a topic, so that he is capable of freely reproducing this material in a manner appropriate to his audiences' level of understanding and without violating scientific truths, is entitled to lecture about that topic. Only such lecturers and teachers offer their audience something worthwhile. That is why the *Lichtbilderdienst* provides preparatory materials either as captions to the images or as model texts with bibliographic references and facts.[54]

An anonymous British lecturer reported, "I simply get the ordinary commercial lantern reading, read it well several times until I understand the subject, then turn it up in the encyclopaedia and read everything pertaining to it. . . . Visit our public libraries and look up any books on the subject, and last, but not least. . . select a number of amusing anecdotes applicable to the subject," after which he wrote his own lecture.[55] In the United Kingdom, though, as we learn from the seminal work of Richard Crangle, their emergence has a different history. Their publishing began much earlier, in the 1820s, and for particular reasons:

> The practice of publishing readings always lay at the heart of the commercial slide trade: the basic idea of selling or hiring slides to amateurs was always that anyone could purchase or hire the knowledge and equipment to produce a show in just the same way as the "person of the art" who had been practising the trade for years.[56]

The number of lantern readings uploaded on the site of the Magic Lantern Society in the UK (henceforth MLS) shows that with the rise of public educational, illustrated lectures towards the end of the 19th century, leaving aside religious and temperance propaganda, the "amateurs" had become an increasingly important target group for publishers and dealers. These readings opened up the possibility to perform beyond a speaker's private circles, and also attempted to set a minimum standard of quality for public illustrated lectures. The above-mentioned French practical guide, moreover, called for increased formality, and also suggested that local notables, even representatives of supra-local organizations, grace a performance with their presence. However, this may have been prompted by considerations of propaganda, given the rivalry between state-supported lantern organizations and their Catholic counterparts, which was at its fiercest point during the late 19th-century.[57]

The lantern reading's history remains sketchy overall, though, like so many other aspects of the illustrated lecture. For one thing, printed readings were not universally favored. A contemporary French manual, albeit on unillustrated lectures, fulminated against "deplorable extremity" of state-supported organizations "sending ready-made, printed lectures to their members in the provinces to be read and reread."[58] Statements about audiences, their seating arrangements in various venues, their deportment, and their interaction with performers, are suppositional at best, given the current lack of social histories of stage performances in general. For instance, British theater histories, which usually cover the established theater trade, merely allow one to speculate that changes in audience behavior may have had a muted effect on illustrated lectures. Such lectures generally were performed with dimmed lights, while in London theaters, dimming of house lights only became standard in the 1880s, after which date "the social aspects of play-going" diminished.[59] Closely related topics, such as audience composition, programming, mode of performance (the tour v. the stand-alone show), or lectures' performative setups, hardly allow statements of any general scope. The desired "holistic perspective," to borrow a term by British historian and archivist Frank Gray,[60] still has a lot of holes.

Footing

As far as the ritual aspect of public lantern lectures is concerned, we can only draw conclusions from the limited material available. This is what I will try to do in the rest of this essay.[61] A brief excursion on American photographer Mathew B. Brady serves as a starting point. Brady is not a name one would immediately associate with the optical lantern. However, captions he wrote for a lantern show, scheduled for January 30, 1896 in New York, appeared as 'Brady's lecture book' in a rather hagiographic account half a century later.[62] The show was meant to bestow a "Grand Testimonial Benefit" on Brady, whose business, once thriving and famous for his portraits of public figures as well as scenes of the American Civil War, had been ailing in the postbellum era and, after a long period of poverty and debt, eventually had to be sold in the summer of 1895. As the lecture was to focus on his "War views," the captions largely reflected his persona of the self-styled "photographic historian" of the Civil War. And although he had made precious few photographs that showed ongoing battle and certainly had not been the only photographic entrepreneur to record the war, Brady managed to remain steadily associated with the war's "terrible reality" and the portraits of relevant personalities, taken in the field or in his studio, such as President Lincoln, the Union generals Grant, Sheridan, and Sherman, as well as Confederate general Lee.

In a number of captions, however, another persona can be detected. There he presented himself as a man who had been in the thick of things, sharing experiences with what he called "the boys," the ordinary soldiers. So, besides being a legend, albeit somewhat tarnished in his later years, Brady also took care to present himself as a regular guy and ingratiate himself with his audience of veterans, especially "his life-long comrades of the Seventh Regiment," who had in fact initiated the event.[63] The lecture itself never took place. Brady died two weeks before the scheduled event, so it is impossible to tell how well his self-authored captions might have approximated his performance. Analytically, they exemplify how, in printed form, speaking capacities have become, quite literally, figures of speech, although transcription practices do not easily render aspects of voice, except in rough, phonetic simulations of dialect, sociolect, ethnolect or idiolect.[64] In Brady's captions for two of his images, two different personas can be identified, and I have distinguished them by italic and normal typeface (Fig. 7 and 8).

In order to describe the lecture as an interactive, ritual phenomenon, one needs an analytical tool that accounts for such changes in persona, vocabulary, or stance. A tool, that is, that accommodates the distinct

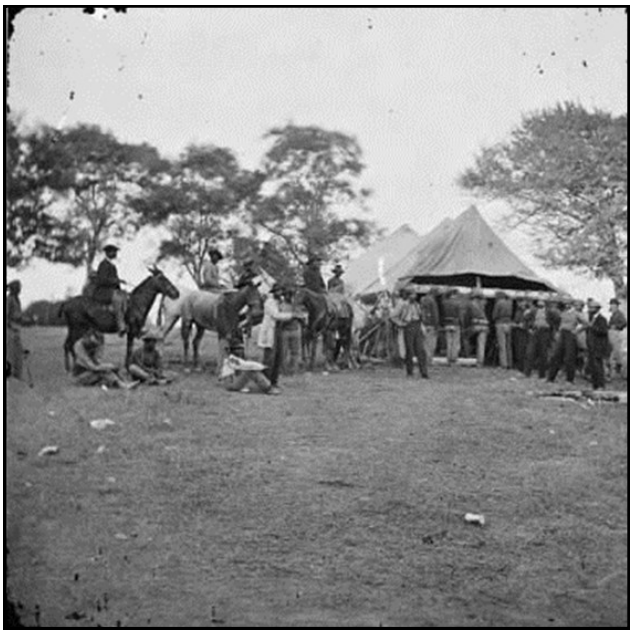


Fig. 7. Matthew Brady's photograph #30 'Filling their canteens' intended for use in his lecture on the Civil War. Brady's text to accompany this slide in the lecture was as follows:

"Comrades all remember how eagerly they made a rush for the old well when on a long and dusty march they came to a plantation with its cool 'Spring House' or its deep dark well. This view shows the familiar scene of filling the canteens. The well has been covered with canvas and a guard placed over it to prevent any waste of water, for a well, however deep and copious soon becomes dry when the army commence to draw water."[65]

Fig. 8. Brady's photograph # 39 'General W. T. Sherman on horse.' Brady's lecture text was as follows:

"General Sherman was familiarly known as 'Old Tecumseh'. His full name was William Tecumseh Sherman. This photograph was taken of him in the Union Lines before Atlanta July 19, 1864. *His 'boys' will be glad to see him as he looked during the war.*"[66]

strands of speech commonly found in a lecture: self- and other-authored, rehearsed and spontaneous (or seemingly so), substantive and social, straightforward or allusive, inclusive or directed at a subset of participants (like Brady's "Comrades" and "boys"), and degree of commitment or accountability. All of these, and more, comprise the personas that speakers seem to inhabit as they go along. One can see this in Brady's comment on one of his own statements about a building that served as a Confederate prison: "If the spot where it stood could be wiped off the face of the Earth it would be well." Changes in persona also can be seen in Brady's imitation of the speech of escaped slaves that were subsequently employed by the Union army amid "Massa Linkum's sojers"—an instance of ethnolect. Changes in persona also are evident in referring to a former self: "At the request [of the] *N.Y. Tribune* we published these company views. . . ."[67]

Such changes are not unique to lecturing; they are part of any interaction involving talk. Basically it concerns three elements of speech: a change of voice (e.g. by creating irony or insinuation or by imitation); a change from extempore to ready-made utterances (e.g, quotations, sayings, but also reading out written materials); and a change in stance (e.g. from alternating utterances attributable to a speaker's perceived identity to speaking on behalf of another person or organization).

For such modulations Goffman proposed the analytical term footing: the alignment between speaker and listener(s) as expressed in the way an utterance is framed—in this case as either part of the lecture proper, or a self-directed comment, aside, quote, innuendo, etc.[68] Because I focus on the texts of lecture readings, I will be concerned only with their implications for speaker positions, which Goffman rechristened *production format*.[69] (He distributed the hearer over various positions, ranging from overt to concealed and from directly to indirectly addressed, with the term *participation status*.) Production format encompasses three distinct social capacities, already suggested above: the generation of speech sound (which he named *animator*), the selection of utterances (*author*), and the position, and its implied degree of responsibility, taken through the uttered text (*principal*).[70] Footing is not primarily concerned with the suasive aspects of a lecture, although some of its ritual work may resemble, even overlap with, rhetorical maneuvers, for instance when authoritative sources are quoted.

Printed lantern readings make the increased precision of the term *production format* immediately clear. While speakers, of course, animated their lectures as a whole, the texts they delivered were commonly authored by subject experts or by well known authors, although in some cases, author and animator were the same—Charles Dickens and travel writer E. Burton Holmes being famous examples. As principals, speakers were to a greater or lesser some extent spokespersons for these authors, depending on their performance. They also might lecture on behalf of other parties, notably the organizations that engaged, sponsored, or employed the speaker. Their delivery, moreover, could implicitly support specific notions of professionalism, performance style, etc.[71] It is here that the phenomenon of footing actually took on a contested aspect and set a lot of pens in motion.

Amateurs

Professional lecturers never merely animated a reading, they performed it. While their acting out, when successful, may well have blurred the above-mentioned analytical distinctions by moving listeners to construe a lecturer's I's and we's as something close to (imagined) personality or autobiography, fundamentally they merely *projected* themselves as animators, authors, and/or principals within their performance.[72] Preparation was not just a matter of anticipating audience response, but also of embedment and consequent appropriation. As an early 20th-century article admonished, "Suppose your topic is topographical, then take care that you have yourself visited the places described." It also effectively instructed the lecturer in camouflaging authors as well as unwanted animators and principals:

> If any event in history has taken place in any spot shown on a picture on the screen . . . read carefully what the most graphic historian has written about the real event, or learn almost by heart what the novelist or poet has said about the incident. . . . If you cannot trust your memory, and must perforce read it, have it carefully looked out beforehand, do not fumble over the pages of the book seeking for it in the dim light of the lecture room. But quote naturally and do not drag in your quotation in a set and formal manner.[73]

No wonder that the professionals were critical of those they considered merely capable of reading the reading, the "amateurs," a term that acquired a derisory connotation in the trade press. During the years that the public illustrated lecture became a fixture on the entertainment agenda, the pages of the *The Optical Magic Lantern Journal and Photographic Enlarger* reflected their antipathy. A few examples:

> •Some people imagine that if they buy (at the cheapest possible price) either a new or second

-hand bi-unial lantern, hire a set of slides, read the lecture without rehearsal, and chance as to whether the pictures are placed on the screen properly, introduce a little music by an amateur, and they think success is bound to follow. The reverse is the case.[74]

•I can call to mind many of my brother lanternists who used to work up a subject for an original lecture, and buy slides to illustrate it; it might be some place they had visited, or it might not. For instance, I have a dozen times given a lecture on Egypt, though I have never been there, but I recollect the pleasure it was to me to read up and collect all the information I could, and then select slides to suit me. I would not have had any stereotype set of slides in those days, but now, anybody can give a 'lecture' if they can read the book sent with the hired slides. It may be Rome to-day, Scotland tomorrow, and the ascent of Mount Blanc the day after; these are not 'lectures,' they are simply readings.[75]

•The illustration of one of the greatest living authorities on natural history having his lecture 'sandwiched' between a dramatic piece and a concert is no doubt very deplorable from a lecturer's point of view, but it is a question of environment, this lecturing on scientific subjects, natural history, or what not. I speak with some knowledge of lecturers and their ways, and it is evident that they do not always study the class of audience they have to entertain as well as instruct. Possibly that dramatic piece, or that concert, was all the majority of the audience of that 'greatest living authority' cared for, and if folks will try and ram dull subjects down the throats of a mixed audience, the lantern will not only take a back seat, but keep it![76]

Incidentally, amateur slide makers received similar reproval, as in, "Let the beginner not attempt sunsets of the gorgeous order, after the manner of G.M.W. Turner (deceased)."[77]

Elsewhere similar complaints were vented as well: "An excellently read discourse exerts infinitely less effect than a middlingly spoken one," a French pamphlet asserted.7[8] The Austrian *Lichtbilderdienst*, whose explicit purpose it was to stimulate the founding of a lecture culture, expounded:

> In general, there was too much superficiality and pretense. People often cheaply rented another person's lecture and read it out, after a fashion, without preparation or naming the actual author, while often the order or the timing of the images being shown did not coincide with what was said. . . . That is why users of the *Lichtbilderdienst*'s aids are strongly reminded, on the flyleaf of each individual sample text and in every caption folder, that the text is not meant to be read aloud, but only serves to prepare a spontaneous delivery. Furthermore, users are reminded of the obligation to name the author of the subject, the creator of the images as well as, whenever specified, the publisher to whose courtesy one owes thanks for this or that.[79]

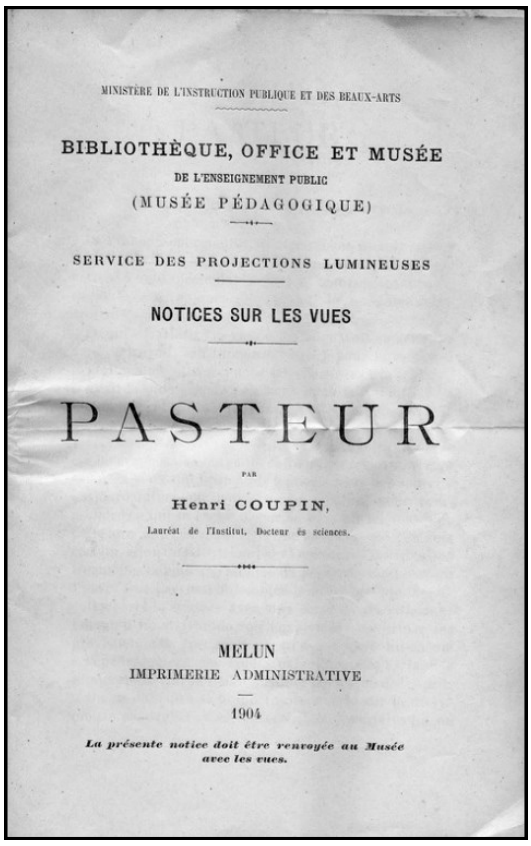
On the whole, however, the strident tone of these criticisms and the generalities that passed for evidence suggest that the contrast between professionals and amateurs was overstated. What it conveniently omitted was the category of local lecturers who wrote their own texts to accompany their own illustrations. Such performances were announced and reviewed in the pages of *The Optical Magic Lantern Journal*. While the enterprise and proficiency of local lecturers may well have put them on a par with professionals, their day jobs, as well as the local aspect of their performances, suggest an avocational mode of operation.[80] Lantern culture nonetheless thrived on such enthusiasts (another contemporary denigrating term[81]), while many local institutes relied on them for their public activities and for creating the very knowledge they transmitted.[82] As well, university extensions and similar academic outreach activities also created a market for academic staff, especially in the more or less simultaneous emergence of so-called popular universities.

Not surprisingly, the term *amateurs* came with less negative connotations in the brochures that had allowed those so designated to enter the lecture market in the first place. Apparently mindful of the indignation, the readings' publishers groomed their new, important type of customer a little for their performances, as in the 'Preliminary hints to amateur lecturers' that prefaced British publisher York & Son's readings for a number of years:

> It is recommended to amateurs to carefully study the reading in private before attempting to render it in public. This will make the public reading more easy, and enable the reader . . . to deliver the lecture with greater effect.

This was followed by advice on the order and inspection of the slides to be projected. Similar to the French custom, publishers encouraged lecturers to broaden their knowledge, as in a reading on the Spanish-American War, which stated: "These are little more than an epitome of the causes which brought

about the war, and the events which followed. They furnish, however, information which the intelligent lecturer will easily amplify."[83] A reading on geology provided suggestions for further reading: "Much of the information contained in this Lecture has been taken from the following works, to which all who are interested are referred for fuller particulars."[84] Both British and French brochures sometimes contained pointers and hints to enliven the performance or bring it closer to home. For instance, a preliminary remark in a reading on Niagara Falls points out that "If the operator is provided with some films of coloured gelatine their dexterous manipulation in front of the objective will very much increase the effectiveness of the winter views . . . whose rapid succession will form a delightful finale to the reading."[85] In a brochure on saving fuel, a text slide listing price comparisons was footnoted with the suggestion that "the lecturer could do the same calculations based on local current prices of various fuels."[86] A footnote in a reading on the work of Louis Pasteur (Fig. 9) proposed to segue from a slide of micro-organisms to the lantern's naked light beam in order to reveal the "considerable quantity of particles" and give audiences a sense of the ubiquity of germs.[87]


MINISTÈRE DE L'INSTRUCTION PUBLIQUE ET DES BEAUX-ARTS

BIBLIOTHÈQUE, OFFICE ET MUSÉE
DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT PUBLIC
(MUSÉE PÉDAGOGIQUE)

SERVICE DES PROJECTIONS LUMINEUSES

NOTICES SUR LES VUES

PASTEUR

PAR

Henri COUPIN,
Lauréat de l'Institut, Docteur ès sciences.

MELUN
IMPRIMERIE ADMINISTRATIVE
—
1904

La présente notice doit être renvoyée au Musée avec les vues.

Fig. 9. Lantern reading on the work of French bacteriologist Louis Pasteur (1904).

Such suggestions were formulated in the terms of the professionals' objections, admitting in so many words that their readings would be enhanced by gifted performers. Insofar there was any contention, it was actually between the professionals and the companies that had introduced the amateur to the national lantern market, changing the business profoundly. What's more, it suggests that the professional performers' focus on delivery might actually have concealed, even to themselves, the fact that the emergence of the amateur showed that demand for qualified lecturers had exceeded the supply.

This is not to suggest that educational lectures per se were considered easier to perform than character-based stories or poetry. A look at MUNAÉ's collection may lead one to believe it was, but this repository represents an institutional history that was exclusively devoted to factual and educational readings. In MLS's 'collectors' collection,' however, educational readings, called "lectures," are less common than other genres, notably "stories." As Richard Crangle explains, in the United Kingdom readings were to a significant extent also meant for domestic use, often in the form of "home entertainment package[s]" that contained a variety of topics.[88] Indeed, the MLS collection brings to the fore the notion of a lantern *program* and its alternation of items of different length, content or mood; its Readings Library boasts a number of so-called compilation brochures that struck a balance between education and entertainment.[89]

In France, however, after the state had taken an active interest, public lecturing was meant to inform rather than entertain; many *notices* brought their audiences up to date with contemporary phenomena. To be sure, MUNAÉ, like MLS, has its share of traditional lecture topics, most notably travel and geography, history, and natural history (but not religion, as it topics were emphatically secular, or at the least reflective).[90] Yet proportionally, MUNAÉ contains a larger number of readings about current technologies (e.g. aviation, electric traction, intercontinental telegraphy, refrigeration, American skyscrapers, the Paris underground); about sociomedical phenomena (hospital hygiene, combating infant mortality and venereal disease, mechanotherapy, serotherapy, collective health insurance, sport); about new products (petrol, reinforced concrete, the telephone, gramophone, automobile, bicycle, submarine); and about discoveries and new scientific insights in archaeology, botany, geology, microbiology, and more. Although both repositories are incomplete, they probably reflect respective national practices in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Establishing Rapport

What we now call footing seems to have been purposefully employed by both the amateurs' opponents, in their reports and letters to the editor, and by the publishers who promoted their entry into the business. But can the concept, even with only printed readings to go on, give a sense of the ways nonprofessionals shaped the situation in which they performed their lectures? Manuals and other advice literature outlined the breadth and depth of lantern show arrangements and, explicitly or implicitly, audience expectations, while their arguments were rather concerned with style and rhetoric. But they were equivocal, as the knowledge they imparted was often based on personal experience or opinion. The *Bulletin de la Ligue de l'Enseignement* recommended: "Don't show too many slides at a time, you will annoy the audience. A slide's interest is as much, if not more, in the explanation one gives than in the beauty of the image and the quality of projection."[91] The author of a brief article on lecturing, however, stated that a good lantern, a good lanternist, and good slides come first, with the lecturer coming in fourth place of importance for such qualities as "pleasant and distinctly clear voice," "master of the subject," and "brevity and conciseness in his explanation."[92]

Another obstacle is that the readings, as supports for 'placeholder' lecturers, lacked audience design. That is, their texts are not shaped according to "what they know, believe, and suppose that [their] hearers . . . know, believe, and suppose."[93] By contrast, take a simple manifestation of audience design in the way a local lecturer adapted his talk to an audience of townsmen in the following outline of his topic, a hike along a regional river, the geography of which hardly needed further explanation:

> The river Wharfe rises some two-and-half-miles above Oughtershaw, under Cam Fell, amidst scenes of stern solitude and moorland grandeur, 1273 feet above the level of the sea. Down to Buckden it is a mountain stream, tumbling over the rocks in a series of cataracts, very fine when the river is flooded. Below Kettlewell the limestone escarpments on either hand form a remarkable series of terraces…[94]

Readings published for general use assumed no such detailed knowledge, simply because as a rule they did not distinguish between specific (local, professional, etc.) audiences nor ordinarily deal with local issues and topics. Their rental signalled their repeatable use, regardless of any particular situation of delivery and any particular lecturer.

Audience design also can be of a ritual, rather than cognitive, nature. In that sense it concerns the ways in which speakers manage to respond to and connect with their audiences. Insofar as this involved changes of footing, through self-interruptions or other momentary suspensions of a speaker's official task, they were often unscripted. Although they could have been prepared, by definition lantern readings contained less than what was actually said during their performance. Ways of establishing rapport, as Goffman notes, "seem to bear more than the text does on the situation *in* which the lecture is given, as opposed to the situation *about* which the lecture is given."[95] A crucial presumption for the following is, therefore, *that the educational lecture in particular would have allowed more room for ritual work than other lantern genres*. The briefness of Brady's captions, for instance, may well reflect his expectation of engaging in conversation or banter with his old comrades. But during the performance of stories, poems, songs, and other more or less fixed texts, the possibilities for spoken demonstrations of audience design were circumscribed by their often highly dialogic character, the compelling expectations created by meter and rhyme scheme, or their familiarity. Their recital would have resembled a set piece, the ritually interactive aspects of which were perforce accomplished by *dramatics*.[96] Only their introductory sections[97] would have been more tolerant of impromptu remarks.[98] Judging from the educational lantern readings that have come down to us, it is clear that how performers were to acknowledge, and resonate among their publics was largely left to themselves. The unceremonious way many of these brochures begin and end attests to this. To be sure, a reading could be included in a larger program, so introductory remarks may have been left out on purpose, as their position would have changed from one performance to another. But precisely these circumstances put the burden even more on the performer and would have made their performance harder rather than easier.

Although lantern readings do not perfectly duplicate spoken lectures, one can find instances of *scripted* ritual work in these brochures, moments when a reading's commonly impersonal mode of address was modulated. These examples help us gauge the extent to which they supported the nonprofessionals in establishing rapport. First of all, I see these moments as traces of the readings' authors, possibly remnants of their own lectures, or as the outcome of editorial decisions. This consideration is informed by the collections of MLS, MUNAÉ, and BnF. In the latter two, most *notices* bear an author's name, usually a subject expert. As a whole these texts show greater uniformity and formality, a result, no doubt, of the centralized

organization of the French educational lecture market.[99] MLS's readings show more variety in tone and in degree of formality. However, I should point out that while these collections together provide some critical mass, certainly not all of their readings contain such scripted modulations of discourse, and in those that do, their occurrences are few and far between.[100]

Secondly, although an anomalous phenomenon both within an individual reading and throughout the entire collections consulted, departures from formal modes of address nonetheless allow arrangement according to changes in the alignment between speaker and audience. I have grouped them into a few broad categories, although some can be accommodated by more than one. These categories do not always neatly differ according to the specific capacities of footing involved, so some are more ambiguous than others. Quotation, for instance, is obviously a matter of author and, possibly, animator, while the category of hedges marks shifts in principal. The order in which I describe them below is thus largely arbitrary. As art historian Robert S. Nelson has pointed out for the academic art historical lecture, delivery is intimately responsive to both the audience and the slides projected. And while he, like Goffman, takes his examples from what were instances of observed situations at best—some are even taken from a play featuring art history lectures!— his article is a reminder that in reality, changes of footing cannot always be neatly planned.[101]

1. The first category I distinguish is self-referencing. In the lantern readings consulted many self-mentions to the lecturer—whether in the subjective first person singular ("I") or the more prevalent objective first person plural ("we")—are inconspicuous and routine placeholder terms used at interstitial moments and other metadiscourse. There, they often merely mark a shift away from the impersonal mode of address characterized by the indefinite pronoun one (French on) or none at all. For example: "Before we move on to a description of the various machines that make up a port's equipment, it seems interesting to us. . . "[102]; "As we have to limit ourselves, we will only focus on two of the abbey's most admirable points. . ."[103]; "We can only trust that we have excited sufficient interest to pursue the subject farther in the mind of those who have never previously visited these shores. . ."[104]

a. When deictic terms increase, however, self-references become more interactively prominent, or 'personal'.[105] In fact, deixis in the following examples includes more elements than just the speaker: it specifies the event, the audience, the slide, the lecture or the topic: "This evening we give one illustration of a quaint corner of this building."[106]; "I have so far assumed that you all know. . "[107]; "This view, taken not far from the front, in Champagne, shows us a woman operating a harvester. . ."[108]; "I have got a very strange text for you to-night. Here it is—*A bag of holes*."[109]; "I am going to talk to you this evening upon a subject that I dare say comparatively few of you know much about. You know your daily newspaper, of course. . . . Yes, but out of the millions of us who read the millions of newspapers, how many give a thought to the manner in which we have them provided for us?"[110]

An interesting example is the double shift, first to an objective formal, then to subjective first-person self-reference: "What struck us most perhaps is the bravery of French women. I was told that there were thousands who had never before worked the land. . ."[111] As each shift is accompanied by a hedge—"perhaps;" "I was told"—they also imply different levels of responsibility for their statement's credibility. To what capacities "I" and "we" precisely refer, however, is harder to specify—an issue I will return to in the next section of this essay. I suspect that some of the more elaborate examples were taken as a whole from actual lectures.

b. Next, a subset of self-references that is extremely rare in print: self-interruptions or self-corrections. Signalled by a sudden break in the flow of speech, they draw attention to the speaker as animator in an allegedly unintended way, as in: "Who shall say who told the first story—I mean, of course, the first *fairy* story. . ."[112] Obviously, given the commonly unforeseen occurrence of such interruptions, this type of scripted ritual work represents faux-spontaneous speech.

c. There also are references, either explicit or suggested, to the performer in capacities other than animator, such as researcher, author, photographer, or other roles in the production of the lecture. Usually this is accomplished by blurring the deixis of pronominals to hide the distinction between speaker and other persons or organizations involved.[113] Examples are: "We deliberately chose a motoring road for one day's journey out of Edinburgh and back. . ."[114]; "I have till now set before you the result of much research. . ."[115]; "When at Rheims the officials kindly allowed us to explore the Cathedral at our own sweet will, and finding an open door we wandered about . . . until we reached the roof level, exactly opposite the Flèche, which we were able to photograph from the belfry."[116]; "In selecting subjects for our consideration this evening, we have intentionally chosen them as varied as possible. . ."[117]; "Surely we could not have a more striking realization of my title of *Fact and fiction*. . ."[118]

2. The next category consists of those instances when speakers linguistically leave their elevated position and join the audience; the felicitous French term for this is *discours enveloppant*.[119] These instances, too, can be unremarkable and routine, as in: "The picture now before us. . ."[120] or "Now let me tell you. . ."[121] Others may have been included for enhanced effect, as in: "The war Japan has waged—and we know with what results—against one of the most formidable military powers in the world. . ."[122]; "This photograph brings together elements of various significance, it will be agreed, in the life of our city."[123]; "[L]et us unite in heartily singing 'God save the Queen'"[124]—here, of course, it is the very activity requested that is supposed to bring speaker and audience together. Some examples, furthermore, appear not only to envelop the auditorium, but also an entire community or country: "I have often wondered how it is that in this age of commemoration we do not organize some memorial to mark the spot and date. . ."[125]; "It is the soil that has seen us being born, it is the national flag, it is France. . . it is us and those whom we love, it is our blood, our ambitions. . ."[126] In the last example, a lecturer went beyond edifying his audience and engaged in sheer propaganda.

a. Naturally a measure of rapport could be established by defining an audience in an appreciative way, sometimes marked by shifting to an inclusive use of "we" or "us": "Few of us, perhaps, would be able to agree upon one country which would have for us an equal interest, unless, indeed, we except the land whither I am to lead you to-night."[127]; "The Bull as you doubtlessly know is the emblem of Europe. . ."[128]; or the phrase quoted in a category above, "I have so far assumed that you all know. . . ." Some of the most straightforward instances of this form of direct address occur in lectures for children, as in: "Boys! don't bet and don't gamble."[129]; "The first time Jesus came into the world was as a little child, and it is foremost to you, dear children, that he is offered as an example."[130]

b. Related to this are moments when a speaker turned to a (supposedly) specific section of the audience, the way Mathew Brady did with "the boys." See for instance: "When the car . . . runs across the open wastes of Soutra Hill, twelve hundred feet above sea level, some of us know what to expect."[131]; "Our temperance friends will be glad to find that in place of the usual rum-grog, it was found that a bowl of hot tea was amazingly relished by the men."[132]. One instance seems either to be a warning to some among his audience or, alternatively, a favorable juxtaposition of the spectators currently addressed with those absent and presumed unfit for the occasion: "At the outset, then, let me say that all who do not take account of the religious interest of the play, not only fail to do it justice, but miss the purpose of those who present it."[133]

c. Establishing rapport is also emphatically attempted by involving an audience through mock dialogue, as in: "Its possession has always been valued by whoever wanted to control the coast of Flanders. Still, you say, it is located well away, hugging tightly against a range of dunes, almost at the mouth of the Yser! But that's precisely why. . . ."[134]; "Did Rembrandt, as Fromentin believes, insert this figure . . . simply because he needed a dash of light within these large shadows?"[135]

3. The last example takes us into a third category, which consists of those moments when a speaker steps back momentarily in favor of known or unknown others—including entire speech communities—by quotation, reference, appeals to common knowledge, and conventional or archaic expressions and phrases. I assume that jokes and anecdotes, insofar as they were felt to be in the public domain, may be classified here as well. A small selection: "Jose Marti, the patriotic lawyer justly styled 'the brains of the insurrection'. . ."[136]; "One has only to look, says one of his biographers, at the extraordinary frame of his face and his eyes shining with youth. . ."[137]; "Ransome, in an article entitled 'The probable cause of the San Francisco Earthquake' says. . ."[138]; "[The painter] can show how 'Brave Broke, he waved his sword,/ Crying—'Shannons, let us board!' or, coming down to our own days, he can show the meaning of the signal 'Well done, Condor!'"[139]; "It is here, people say, that for a long time she hatched the plan she was to carry out, on July 13, 1793, stabbing and killing Marat to avenge the Girondins."[140]; "And now we hie to Warwick . . ."[141] In readings from belles-lettres, quotes of long passages are quite common, as in: "The rest we will tell in John's own words, written many years after."[142]; see also *A night with Burns,*[143] *Sir Walter Scott and his country,*[144] *Corneille,*[145] or *The city of Rochester and its associations with the life of Charles Dickens*.[146] I round out this section with a funny anecdote: "But pray don't hold me responsible for such treasonable opinions, or I shall answer, like the Irishman who was accosted by his lawyer with 'Dennis I'll trouble you for the 6s. 8d. you owe me.' 'Sure it's 6s. 8d. ye want, is it? and what for?' 'It's for the opinion you had of me.' 'Oh, faix, then, I never had any opinion of ye at all.'"[147]

4. Finally, the last category, hedges, or the ways speakers do not wholly commit themselves to a statement, occur infrequently in readings of the instructional kind. A logical explanation is that lantern readings were meant to impart well established knowledge, except in casess where that knowledge itself was uncertain, as in: "This etching of 1643 is

probably the first portrait the artist made of him."[148] or "We believe that the photograph before us is the only existing view of it."[149] From an interactional point of view, hedges such as "I think," "I guess," "perhaps," or "possibly," being such a commonplace feature of everyday speech, might well have occurred spontaneously. Who knows whether the preprinted instances were also put into these texts unthinkingly and, therefore, less meaningfully? See for instance: ". . . none perhaps offers so many attractions to the tourist. . ."[150]; "Nowadays, perhaps, the Americans and their tall buildings give us proof of their superiority. . ."[151]; ". . . they were always tumbling into the sea . . . and being rescued by some passing fishing boat, for I don't think any were actually drowned."[152] A more elaborate and purposeful example, lastly, is: "According to not very trustworthy tradition, this custom commemorates. . . ."[153]

To get some perspective on these and other instances of scripted ritual work, I will examine the opposite end of the lecturing business, the professionals, and from there work back towards the lantern readings. I start with one of the trade's epitomes, American lecturer, photographer, and filmmaker E. Burton Holmes (Fig. 10). Having set himself up as a travel lecturer, although professionally managed for a while, Holmes developed a distinctively elegant and polished, extemporaneous style on the stage, enhanced by a sophisticated-sounding British accent.[154] In a long career, spanning c. 60 years from the early 1890s through the 1950s, Holmes worked in the major visual media of the time: lantern shows, photography, film, and television. Plausibly, because Holmes's films were considered lost until 2004,[155] he is still best known for his travel lectures, the texts of which were repeatedly collected in print.

He prefaced his first volume of printed travelogues, in 1901, with the words: "To transfer the illustrated lecture from public platform to printed page is to give permanent form to the ephemeral."[156] The statement, I think, is twice wrong, but for contrasting reasons. Insofar as it referred to impromptu remarks, the ephemeral simply never made it into print at all. Insofar as it referred to the spoken lecture as a whole, the ephemeral did not fade quite so quickly, if at all. Holmes's style, as well as his fame, complicated the use of his travelogues by other lecturers—even though he himself had not always been above using materials published by others. Besides, his lectures were copyrighted. And since 1897 the use of films, usually shot by Holmes or his assistants to illustrate his lectures, made them an even harder act to follow.[157] Holmes is doubtlessly an extraordinary example, but that makes it all the more clear why the preprinted lantern readings left their users fending for themselves.

Paramount Burton Holmes
Travel Pictures
"To travel is to possess the World"
IT isn't any trick to fill your theatre now and then with a big star or special splurge in advertising—but
You must be a shrewd and scientific manager to build up your business and keep your house filled and your expenses low. You can do this by demanding a star short reel.
A star short reel is one with advertising possibilities, a nationally known name that draws a few new people to your house—not the kind that come to any picture house, but the kind who haven't been going to pictures, the kind that have read Burton Holmes books or traveled. These pictures bring the limousines to your theatre door.
Paramount Pictures
Paramount Pictures Corporation
FOUR EIGHTY-FIVE FIFTH AVENUE FORTY-FIRST ST.
NEW YORK
Controlled by FAMOUS PLAYERS-LASKY CORPORATION
As a gentleman of Japan dressed for rainy day promenade

Fig. 10. Burton Holmes dressed in Japanese costume for a travel lecture on Japan. From: *Moving Picture World*, Aug 1917.

A major consideration in this argument is that the most noticeable and ever-present feature of self-made, professional lectures is self-referencing. Because Holmes had undertaken all of his travels himself, and was both the writer and performer of travelogues, he frequently referred to himself as the one through which an audience would experience the trips. A consistently first-person, largely present-tense narration marks his writings, as it must have done his lectures. Here he is again, at the outset of his journey to Yellowstone Park:

> Ask any traveller who has visited the Yellowstone National Park to describe it and he will reply: "It is indescribable." My task is therefore not an easy one, since it is to describe the indescribable. Returning from Greece to the United States, I was dreading the long mid-summer railway-ride over fully two-thirds of our broad continent. "But", said a friend, "why do you go by rail? Why don't you travel west by water?"

> The thought was new to me, and I at once resolved to take advantage of that splendid waterway which leads from the Empire State to the Gates of the Great Northwest. Accordingly the porter is given instructions to "pat us off at Buffalo", where we begin our long voyage around America's vast inland seas.[158]

Of course, self-referencing was ideal for travel and expedition accounts. Besides heightening a lecturer's reputation for his savoir-faire, particularly in faraway territories, it was the personal touch that could be exploited to great advantage through the use of I or we—even though, as noted, first-person narration conveyed a "constructed public persona" rather than pure autobiography.[159] But precisely the autobiographical aura that clung to it—"My task is therefore not an easy one," "Returning from Greece," or "said a friend"—might have made such name authors' texts ill-suited for use by nonprofessionals, like an over-sized coat than would not fit them without serious alterations.[160]

There is more to this. In the last sentence from the quoted excerpt the change from "I" to "us," marks the moment when Holmes embarked the boat, after which he consistently uses "we." This is vintage Holmes: an instance of *discours enveloppant*, it suggests both his presence among the other passengers and among his audience. Most likely, this moment also marked a change of projected illustration. In Holmes's words, "In an illustrated lecture the impression upon eye and ear should be simultaneous, that the suggestion of travel may be successfully produced."[161] What made Holmes's writing and lecturing so effective is that changes of footing appeared to be largely coincident with, if not subordinate to, rhetoric.

The extent to which instances of scripted ritual work sampled above accomplished their task cannot be so easily ascertained. Apart from the fact that on the page some seem indistinguishable from rhetorical maneuvers, encompassing explanations for their anomaly remain elusive, at best partial. For instance, their infrequency would not have been sufficient to salt many a reading's factual quality with a semblance of spontaneity. While they could be taken as reminders to nonprofessional lecturers to acknowledge their audience once in a while, not all nonprofessionals were inexperienced speakers—think of the teachers in France discussed above. Coming back to the controversy stirred up by these brochures and the opportunities they offered to nonprofessionals, they may well have suggested that audiences were listening to speakers who upheld professional standards, or at least their mere trappings; but that, of course, presupposes that other elements of their delivery passed muster.

Given, as was stated above, that the lantern lecture was a verbal performance "subject to evaluation for the way it is done," the paucity, or sheer absence, of scripted modulations must have been insufficient to discipline speakers into assuming "responsibility . . . for a display of performative competence."[162] That term implies that a speaker conforms "to the speech expected of certain members of society whenever they open their mouths,"[163] including forms of audience design, whether prepared or improvised. Indeed, Richard Crangle's statement that, "The basic aim [of lantern readings' publishers and dealers] was to enable the amateur or part-time lanternist to pronounce with authority on subjects which were otherwise the province of professionals,"[164] may well be the very reason why nonprofessionals felt uncomfortable with texts that were too stylish, too elaborate, or too personal.[165]

Clearly the printed texts discussed are deficient, and with no recordings of non-scholarly, public educational illustrated lectures of the first half of the 20th century available, an evidence-based evaluation of changes of footing is nigh impossible. I will therefore continue my argument by analogy with a recorded public lecture illustrated using moving images.

Conclusion

D-day to Germany is the title of an illustrated lecture by one-time American war correspondent Jack Lieb (Fig. 11). His informal talk accompanies a compilation of clips from his private films, from his newsreel footage, and from official films held by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington, D.C., all shot during the final year of the war in Europe.[166] The recording, uploaded to NARA's YouTube channel, shows historic visuals of "more than a quarter of a century" ago, as Lieb points out on the comment track. This particular instance,

Fig. 11. Jack Lieb with movie camera used to shoot color D-Day footage used in his lectures. National Archives

recorded in 1976, is delivered in a first-person, informal mode. The text was not being read, as can be inferred from small hesitations, addled syntax (as in "The one place that intrigued me was my first trip to London"), and other characteristics of spontaneous talk, including an occasional lapse followed by an ostensibly self-directed comment ("And here is er… Oh gosh, twenty-five years has done a lot to my memory"). A likely reason for this extemporaneous mode is that Lieb had performed it for a number of decades before widely different audiences, including his daughter's fourth grade class. By the time of this recording his narration may well have become routine. Nevertheless, while the talk would have been synchronized to the footage on the screen, his lines sometimes bleed over a subsequent scene or stop short before a scene's ending when apparently he had nothing more to tell, at least not to the audience of this recorded instance. All in all, its narration is rather loose, largely held together by the locations shown and, as the title indicates, a familiar chronology. That being said, this recording may broaden and nuance our conception of the printed changes of footing in the brochures.

Besides a few hedges and 'enveloping' expressions, self-references prevail. They ground the related, hazardous events in autobiography, as if to say, "At this important moment in history I was there (and I live to tell it)." But while this may have made its delivery more personal, Lieb's first-person narration embeds slightly different personas, between which he sometimes shifts more or less imperceptibly. These personas ranged from an off-duty cameraman ("I was photographing these speakers. . ." [at Hyde Park's Speakers' Corner]), to a professional newsreel reporter ("Here we see the LCI [Landing Craft Infantry] number four with the commander moving out into the Channel"), a private person ("These are the shots I wanted to bring back to the family and friends"), or a postwar tourist in France ("[The city of Valognes] was completely destroyed. I was there several times since the war and it's been rebuilt beautifully"). Interesting, too, is the juxtapostion of "I" and "we" in "We had to move on and soon I had to leave Paris," where "I" refers to Lieb the newsreel correspondent and "we" the army in whose wake he traveled. In a few cases his identification with the army was complete, as in: "We needed Cherbourg badly, because we thought we could use it as a port." Because of its greater frequency, the pronoun "we" had more work to do, but what it referred to was not always clear-cut. In fact, in saying "We needed Cherbourg," he might have implied the even broader category of "our side"or "the Allieds." Similar ambiguity can be heard in his comment on a scene on a naval ship: "And then, one afternoon, lieutenant [Patten] briefed the crew and told them that we would be sailing that afternoon," where "we" can either mean the correspondents that had joined the soldiers on the ship—"them"—or both the soldiers and war correspondents. Similar ambiguity occurred in the comment, shortly after landing on Utah Beach, "We'd stayed on the beach the first night. . ."

Lacking the smoothness and clarity that both manuals and brochures suggest, one may safely conclude that Lieb was not a very gifted speaker, even though he had a lot of 'mileage.' Basically he was an amateur who had a day job in film production and gave irregular, illustrated lectures on his wartime experiences. What is more intriguing is that all the little shifts of footing in his talk do not always seem to have huge significance: they are perhaps not routine, but neither do they mark major shifts in voice, vocabulary, or stance. I prefer to think that Lieb was aware of these different personas simultaneously; the screened footage may in fact have triggered one persona over the other momentarily ("We needed Cherbourg badly. . ."). These shifts of footing illustrate the fundamental difference with rhetoric: changes in footing, scripted or not, are not just the preserve of speakers, but can be co-determined by moves coming from the audience, the visuals, or other elements in or even beyond the setting. They also point to another fundamental issue: studying the concept of footing can only benefit from *recordings* to ascertain the relative significance of the changes in a speaker's discourse—with the additional advantage of seeing this discourse in connection with paralinguistic and nonlinguistic aspects, not just those pertaining to the speaker, but also to other elements of the event (the audience, the room, etc.).[167] All changes of footing mean something, but some mean more than others.[168]

This recording of an informal talk also suggests new questions about nonprofessionals' performance. For instance, how common was it to talk extemporaneously or alternate it with reading? Or, whenever self-mentions occurred, were their referents as ambiguous or as varied? In other words, did nonprofessional lecturers extend the references meant by "I" or "we" by shifting between more or less defined personas? Did this signal that they delivered a specific lecture repeatedly? If so, to what extent did they change the reading they were supposed to use along the way? Were self-references a measure of these changes? To the last question a partial answer may be given. While self-mentions seem to be highly characteristic of lectures that were animated and authored by the same person, it was not always necessary to use first-person pronouns in every other sentence. See for instance the following excerpt from the local river hike lecture by Ryder cited previously:

> The great majority of people who annually visit Bolton Abbey and woods . . . seem to have a notion that they have seen ALL the beauties which Upper Wharfedale possesses. It is with a desire to remove that impression, and to bring other less-known, but equally delightful parts of this most favoured valley under notice, that I have laboured to get this Series of Photographs together; to me, it has been a labour of love and pleasure—let us hope that it will be a pleasure to you to review on the screen.[169]

This introductory paragraph is followed by large chunks of merely descriptive text, some apparently based on observations by the lecturer, others reminiscent of impersonal guidebooks. What all this shows is that as long as a clear, personal frame had been set from the start, self-references could actually be used sparsely. This example points up that, unlike the often highly personalized accounts by well-known lecturers, the lack of self-references actually created room for the nonprofessionals' ritual work by expanding on the lantern reading. Together with the brochures' abrupt beginnings and endings, this enabled, if not induced, nonprofessional lecturers to come up with bits of self-initiated authorship and accountability on the spot. The drawbacks of published lectures, either by being too personal or unhelpful, may therefore have actually contributed to nonprofessionals' performative competence by default.

To conclude, and zooming out from Lieb's talk and Ryder's local lecture, the latter point puts the lantern reading in perspective in the sense that for individual lecturers it may have been a moment or phase in their career, a means to get them started in the business, give them an opportunity at a time of great demand. The above-mentioned series of questions could be seen as tracing a development of their gradual loosening from the printed text, in part effectuated by the brochure itself, and becoming more experienced, even perhaps professionalized. To put it in terms of footing, amateur lecturers were allowed to develop their own mix of voices, texts, and stances. This would give the reading a fluid, much less literal, definite significance, but conceives of it as a 'setting' for their performers' further development and elaboration. The controversy sparked by printed lecture readings was, therefore, partly misdirected, as the 'amateurs' might well have gone on to join the professional ranks, leaving the reading to a new crop of beginners.

Notes and References

1. This work is part of the research program *Projecting knowledge—the magic lantern as a tool for mediated science communication in the Netherlands, 1880-1940*, at Utrecht University, project number VC.GW17.079/6214. The project is funded by the Dutch Research Council, or NWO in its Dutch-language acronym—see: https://www.nwo.nl/en/about-nwo. The quotation comes from Richard Bauman, *Verbal Art as Performance* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1977), 11.

2. I profoundly thank the Documentation Department of the Musée nationale de l'Éducation, Rouen, for providing me with the seminal document *Le fonds de vues sur verre du Musée pédagogique. Premier inventaire des "notices explicatives"* (1978). Many thanks as well to emeritus professor Martyn Lyons, for pointing me to literature on French book publishing and library history to understand the emergence and function of lantern readings in turn-of-the-century public illustrated lectures in France. Thanks also to Richard Crangle for elucidating some of the practices of British lantern reading publishers and for reading and commenting on a draft of this essay. Finally, many thanks to the project team, Frank Kessler, Jamilla Notebaard, and Dulce da Rocha Gonçalves, for reading and commenting on a draft of this paper.

3. To date, for our project we have consulted the slide collections of the former Art History Institute of Utrecht University, at RKD-Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis, The Hague (c. 23,000 slides), and the former Art History Institute of the University of Amsterdam, at University of Amsterdam-Allard Pierson (c. 20,000). Furthermore, we have located for upcoming research the slide collection of the former Koloniaal Instituut, Amsterdam, at Museum van Wereldculturen-Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden (c. 10,000); the private collection of Amsterdam zoo inspector of livestock A.F.J. Portielje, at University of Amsterdam-Allard Pierson (c. 100 lantern slide boxes); Sonnenborgh Museum & Observatory, Utrecht (c. 1,200); the collection of unaffiliated anthropologist Paul Julien, at Nederlands Fotomuseum, Rotterdam (c. 1,600 slides inventoried). The last two have been partly digitized; for the Sonnenborgh collection see the magic lantern web resource Lucerna: https://www.slides.uni-trier.de/.

4. *Achtste jaarverslag, 1918* ([Amsterdam: Vereeniging "Koloniaal Instituut", 1919]), 18.

5. *Catalogus der lichtbeelden-verzameling (lantaarnplaten)*, ([Amsterdam: Vereeniging "Koloniaal Instituut", 1917]).

6. See also: Richard Crangle, '"Next slide please": the lantern lecture in Britain, 1890-1910', Richard Abel, Rick Altman (eds.), *The sounds of early cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001a), 46.

7. https://domitor.org/early-cinema-overview/.

8. For a case study that traces this development in the collection of handbills of Dutch film distributor-cum-exhibitor Jean Desmet, see: Nico de Klerk, *Showing and telling: film heritage institutes and their performance of accountability* (Wilmington, DE – Malaga: Vernon Press, 2017), 47-58.

9. A recent handbook states: "Another problem [besides questions of historiography, ethics, and periodization] faced by the historian of film lecturing is that of the scarcity of documents." However, no explanation for this problem, either more or less informed, is suggested; see: Germain Lacasse, 'The film lecturer', André Gaudreault, Nicolas Dulac, Santiago Hidalgo (eds.), *A companion to early cinema* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2012), 488.

10. Besides classified ads, see the memoirs of Dutch film lecturer Max Nabarro, a rare contemporary, albeit anecdotal egodocument,

excerpts of which were published in: *Een stem voor het doek: Max Nabarro, explicateur* (Amsterdam: Nederlands Filmmuseum, 1992). The memories of another Dutch film lecturer, albeit at one generation's remove, are related in: Ivo Blom, Ine van Dooren, "Ladies and gentlemen, hats off, please!": Dutch film lecturing and the case of Cor Schuring,' *Iris*, 22 (1996), 81-101.

11. For the Netherlands see: Ansje van Beusekom, 'Louis Hartlooper (1864-1922): explicateur te Utrecht', *Jaarboek Mediageschiedenis 6* (Amsterdam: IISG Beheer, 1995), 182-194. Although a case study of an exceptional, in some respects unrepresentative figure, the article provides insight into contemporary Dutch practices and debates.

12. For instance, Michaela Herzig and Martin Loiperdinger suggest that, besides the screening of local views in the German town of Trier, cameraman-cum cinema owner Peter Marzen's lecturing in the local dialect drew large audiences; see their: '"Vom Guten das Beste". Kinematographenkonkurrenz in Trier', *KINtop*, #9 (2000), 38-51.

13. One small case study sketches the career of Dutch freelance lecturer J.A.C Nonhebel, who for two decades lectured on a limited number of barely changing topics; see: Frank Kessler, 'The educational magic lantern dispositif', Sarah Dellmann, Kessler (eds.), *A million pictures: magic lantern slides in the history of learning* (New Barnet: John Libbey, 2020), 188-189.

14. In the United Kingdom, print runs of 500 to 1,000 copies of several editions of factual lecture readings seem to have been common in the late-19th century; after World War I lecturers made do with duplicate typescripts or manuscripts; Crangle (2001a), 43. A French source mentions initial print runs of 5,000 copies, not seldom followed by subsequent runs; Johanna Natali, Marco Matozzi, Jacques Perriault, *Le fonds de vues sur verre du Musée pédagogique. Premier inventaire des "notices explicatives"* (Paris: Institut national de Recherches pédagogiques (INRP), 1978), 16.

15. Jens Ruchatz, *Licht und Wahrheit. Eine Mediumgeschichte der fotografischen Projektion* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 2003), 175-307. One contemporary source commented on this distinction: "The delight which one person has in looking through a stereoscope a thousand persons can have at once—so that there is sympathetic and social pleasure." Quoted in: Erkki Huhtamo, *Illusions in motion: media archaeology of the moving panorama and related spectacles* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013), 275; Huhtamo dates his source, John Fallon's *Six tours through foreign lands. A guide to Fallon's great work of art. A complete mirror of the universe, from the earliest times down to the present day*, approximately in the 1860s (284, n. 52). John Fallon, a dye chemist from Lawrence, Massachusetts, was the owner of an imported limelight lantern first exhibited in 1860 as The Stereopticon, a term that was widely adopted in the United States for high-quality lanterns used to show photographic slides, especially in public lectures. Fallon seldom exhibited his stereopticon himself, but lent it out to various lecturers. After the original stereopticon was first exhibited in Philadelphia in 1860 and 1861, the name was almost immediately copied by competing exhibitors, and manufacturers such as James Queen soon offered their own versions of the stereopticon for public lectures and exhibitions. See: Kentwood D. Wells. 2008. What's in a name? The magic lantern and the stereopticon in American periodicals 1860-1900. *The Magic Lantern Gazette* 20 (3):3-19; Kentwood D. Wells. 2011. The stereopticon men: on the road with John Fallon's stereopticon, 1860-1870. *The Magic Lantern Gazette* 23 (3):2-35; Kentwood D. Wells. 2019. Stereopticon exhibitions in Philadelphia in the 1860s. *The Magic Lantern Gazette* 31 (2):3-9.

16. See for instance: Walter D. Welford, Henry Sturmy (eds.), *The indispensable handbook to the optical lantern: a complete cyclopædia on the subject of optical lanterns, slides & accessory apparatus* (London: Iliffe & Son, 1888), which contains numerous examples of sets of around a hundred slides or more (although a few topics consisting of many hundreds of slides were said to be mere "large series from which sets can be made up."). See also some sets in the catalogues of the Media History Digital Library (http://mediahistoryproject.org/), such as *W.B. Moore's illustrated and descriptive catalogue and price list of stereopticons, lantern slides, moving picture machines, accessories for projection* (1902) and *Liesegangs Glassphotogramme für Lichtbilder-Apparate* (1903), *Lichtbilder in Woodbury-Druck* (1905).

17. Nathalie Boulouche, 'L'image de lumière comme tableau noir', Denise Borlée, Hervé Ducet (eds.), *La plaque photographique. Un outil pour la fabrication et la diffusion des savoirs (XIXe-XXe siècle)* (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2019), 25, 365 n. 7; Ruchatz (2003), 168-169, 208.

18. For instance, a Dutch reporter mentioned that he was unable to make "substantial notes" as "the slides required that the lights had to be constantly dimmed"; 'De Violier', *De Maasbode*, 38, #8936, May 17, 1906, 1st section, 2; Delpher, https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB04:000191118:mpeg21:p001. This and the following translations from all the non-English sources are by the author.

19. Marianne Altit-Morvillez, 'Les plaques de projection des conférences d'Émile Espérandieu (1857-1939) à l'École antique de Nîmes', Borlée, Ducet (2019), 240-241.

20. Martin Hewitt, 'Beyond scientific spectacle: image and word in nineteenth-century popular lecturing', Joe Kember, John Plunkett, Jill A. Sullivan (eds.), *Popular exhibitions, science, and showmanship, 1840-1910* (London – Brookfield: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 81.

21. The research field of geographies of science, albeit mainly concerned with situated intellectual history, provides support for this term, stating for instance that "[c]ertain socially produced spaces are privileged sites because from them emanate discourses that exercise immense power in society"; David N. Livingstone, 'Science, sites and speech: scientific knowledge and the spaces of rhetoric', *History of the Human Sciences*, 20, #2 (May 2007), 73. For an overview see Livingstone's book *Putting science in its place: geographies of scientific knowledge* (Chicago - London: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

22. Milton Singer, 'Search for a great tradition in cultural performances', *Semiotics of cities, selves, and cultures: explorations in semiotic anthropology* (Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter – Mouton, 1991), 24-41, and: *When a Great Tradition modernizes: an anthropological approach to Indian civilization* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1972), 70-74; see also: Richard Bauman, 'Performance', *Folklore, cultural performances, and popular entertainments: a communications-centered handbook* (New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 46-48; Charles O. Frake, 'Plying frames can be dangerous: some reflections on methodology in cognitive anthropology', *Language and cultural description* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), 55. According to Stephen Greenblatt, in Christian-era Europe the distribution of roles between performers and audience only became a mainstream arrangement during the Renaissance. Medieval performances of mystery and miracle plays were a communal affair in which all participants were performers, if not in a way quite literally professionals, as a play's sections were the responsibility of various guilds; see his: 'Witness to a mystery', *New York Review of Books*, LXVII, #10 (June 11, 2020), 19.

23. For a description, from a socioeconomic perspective, of how the American public lecture circuit developed into a culturally significant phenomenon, see: Donald M. Scott, 'The popular lecture and the creation of a public in mid-nineteenth-century America', *Journal of American History*, 66, #4 (March 1980), 791-809.

24. In the 1970s anthropologist Richard Bauman described (verbal) performance in similar terms as consisting "in the as-

sumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative competence", while from the point of view of the audience the performer "is thus marked as subject to evaluation for the way it [the performance] is done, for the relative skill and effectiveness of the performer's display of competence" and "the enhancement of experience" thus accomplished; Richard Bauman, *Verbal art as performance* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1977), 11, 26-27.

25. Erving Goffman, 'The lecture', *Forms of talk* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981a), 160-196.

26. Besides praise, a trenchant critique of his work on situated talk as being fundamentally flawed by not allowing his objects of research to speak for themselves (meaning it was not based on recordings), is: Emanuel A. Schegloff, 'Goffman and the analysis of conversation', Paul Drew, Anthony Wootton (eds.), *Erving Goffman: exploring the interaction order* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), 89-135.

27. Scott (1980) acknowledges the importance of ritual in public lecturing, but does not develop it.

28. Erving Goffman, *Relations in public: microstudies of the public order* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972 [1971]), 62-94.

29. J. Maxwell Atkinson, 'Public speaking and audience responses: some techniques for inviting applause,' Atkinson, John Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action: studies in conversation analysis* (Cambridge – Paris: Cambridge University Press – Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1984), 371.

30. Goffman (1981a), 187.

31. T. Perkins, 'On lantern lectures', quoted in: Joe Kember, '"Go thou and do likewise": advice to lantern and film lecturers in the trade press, 1897-1909', *Early Popular Visual Culture*, 8, #4 (November 2010), 426. Orig. publ. in 1902.

32. Frake (1980), 54.

33. Michael Faraday, 'The art of lecturing', *Advice to lecturers: an anthology taken from the writings of Michael Faraday & Lawrence Bragg*, ed. by George Porter, James Friday (London: Mansell Information/Publishing, 1974), unpaginated.

34. Francisque Sarcey, 'Méthode pour faire une conférence', *Souvenirs d'age mûr* (Paris: Paul Ollendorff, 1892), 144.

35. See, respectively: Tanya Golash-Boza, 'How to deliver an outstanding public lecture', *Get a life, PhD* blogspot (April 30, 2013), http://getalifephd.blogspot.com/2013/04/how-to-deliver-outstanding-public.html; Katherine Lee, '10 Tips for speaking like a Ted Talk pro: advice from the experts on how to make any presentation sing', *Monitor on Psychology*, 48 #2 (February 2017); https://www.apa.org/monitor/2017/02/tips-speaking.

36. Anne Quillien, 'Les plaques photographiques du Musée pédagogique', Borlée, Ducet (2019), 39-46; Natali, Mozzati, Perriault (1978), 4. See also: Édouard Petit, 'Post-Scolaires (oeuvres)', *Nouveau dictionnaire de pédagogie et d'instruction primaire*, ed. by Ferdinand Buisson (Paris: Hachette, 1911); http://www.inrp.fr/edition-electronique/lodel/dictionnaire-ferdinand-buisson/document.php?id=3424; Henri Gilbault, *Conférences populaires. Guide pratique à l'usage des conférenciers populaires* (Paris: Bibliothèque d'Éducation, 1905), 11-12, 16. In America, it has been calculated, many lecturers "were local people—teachers, ministers, fraternal leaders, and neighborhood amateurs;" Terry Borton, '238 eminent American "magic lantern" showmen: the Chautauqua lecturers', *The Magic Lantern Gazette*, 25, #1 (Spring 2013), 3.

37. Laurent Besse, Carole Christen, 'L'histoire de l'éducation populaire en chantier. Quelques points de répère', Christen, Besse (eds.), *Histoire de l'éducation populaire 1815-1945. Perspectives françaises et internationales* (Villeneuve d'Asq: Presses universitaires de Septentrion, 2017), 45-46. Despite the authors' acknowledgment of insights from related studies, notably histories of sports and cinema, this introductory overview of the field of popular education sadly fails to appreciate the importance of the public lantern lecture, notably the pioneering research by Natali, Matozzi, Perriault (1978) and Jacques Perriault's *Mémoires de l' ombre et du son. Une archéologie de l'audio-visuel* (Paris: Flammarion, 1981), 91-119. In general, the social aspects of the lantern lecture, whether in personal or impersonal events, warrant more research.

38. French educator Octave Gréard, in his *Education et instruction* (1887), estimated that in France, around 1870, the number of people enrolled in continuation courses amounted to c. 800,000; Quoted in: Perriault (1981), 96.

39. Perriault, 'Introduction', Natali, Matozzi, Perriault (1978), [i] (unpaginated section); Daniel Raichvarg, Jean Jacques, *Savants et ignorants. Une histoire de la vulgarisation des sciences* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1991), 178-179.

40. Quillien (2019), 48-52; Perriault (1981), 107-108; Natali, Mozzati, Perriault (1978), 4-7, 15. The latter source, though, does mention the bi-weekly *Le Volume* (1899), which contained lecture suggestions for teachers specifically; Ibid., 16. Perriault mentions that, in France, the idea of a reading already circulated in the 1870s; Perriault (1981), 112.

41. Agnès Marcetteau-Paul, 'Les bibliothèques municipales', Dominique Varry (ed.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. Les bibliothèques de la Révolution et du XIXe siècle 1789-1914* (Paris: Promodis, 1991), 437-453. The author points to the huge local and regional differences that only further research can detail; Martyn Lyons, *Le triomphe du livre. Une histoire sociologique de la lecture dans la France du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Promodis, 1987), 169-173.

42. Martyn Lyons, *Reading culture & writing practices in nineteenth-century France* (Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 48-49.

43. Jean-Yves Mollier, 'Diffuser les connaissances au XIXe siècle, un exercice délicat', *Romantisme*, 108, #2 (2000), 91-101.

44. Martyn Lyons, *Readers and society in nineteenth-century France: workers, women, peasants* (Basingstoke – New York: Palgrave, 2001), 8.

45. Gilbault (1905), 7.

46. Ibid., 19-37.

47. A pioneering inventory retrieved c. 600 of a then estimated 900 archived readings; Natali, Mozzati, Perriault (1978), 20-21.

48. J.-E. Bulloz, *Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris: Maison artistique d'Éditions photographiques et de Vulgarisation par l'Image, 1900a), 1; Bibliothèque national de France-Gallica (henceforth BnF).

49. J.-E. Bulloz, *Les héros de 1870* (Paris: Maison artistique d'Éditions photographiques et de Vulgarisation par l'Image, 1900b); BnF.

50. 'Voordrachten met lichtbeelden', *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 72, #22286 (June 6, 1899), evening edn., 2nd section, 6-7. Delpher, http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010163005:mpeg21:p006, and similar reports in a number of other Dutch newspapers around this date.

51. A.H. Gerhard, *Sterrenkunde* (Amsterdam: Vereeniging tot het

houden van Voordrachten met Lichtbeelden, n.d. [1900]), 10-11.

52. Three short manuals, all written by biologist-cum-photographer A.H. Blaauw, have been retrieved: one about the cultivation of coffee, *Korte handleiding voor de bespreking van de koffiecultuur bij de lantaarnplaten, afbeeldingen en voorwerpen van de reis-collectie van het Koloniaal Instituut* (Amsterdam: Koloniaal Instituut, n.d. [1918]), and two similarly titled brochures devoted to the rice and tea cultures.

53. F. G. Geerling, *De wonderen der voorwereld* ([Amsterdam: Instituut voor Arbeidersontwikkeling, 1925]), 2, 7.

54. *Wegweiser des Lichtbilderdienstes samt Bildergruppenverzeichnissen, Leihordnungen und Angabe aller vom Bundesministerium für Unterricht vergesehehen einschlägigen Hilfen für Bildungspflege, Unterricht und Vortragskultur* (Wien: Bundesministerium für Unterricht, 1928), 6.

55. A.B., 'Lecturers should learn their lectures' (1902), quoted in: Kember (November 2010), 427-428. Although similar to French practices, in the United Kingdom public libraries were well established during the late 19th and early 20th centuries; see: Thomas Kelly, *A history of public libraries in Great Britain, 1845-1965* (London: Library Association, 1973), Appendix IV, 468-487.

56. Richard Crangle, 'How to read a reading: a short history of the humble slide reading', *New Magic Lantern Journal*, 9, #6 (Summer 2004), 89.

57. Frank Kessler, Sabine Lenk, 'Projecting faith: French and Belgian Catholics and the magic lantern before the First World War', *Material Religion*, 16, #1 (2020), 61-83; https://doi.org/10.1080/17432200.2019.1696560.

58. Paul Crouzet, *Littérature et conférences populaires* (s.l.: Pranava Books, n.d. [facsimile of brochure orig. publ. in 1897]), 47-48

59. Jim Davis, Victor Emeljanow, 'Victorian and Edwardian audiences', Kerry Powell (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Victorian and Edwardian theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 95. Indeed, in the early 1850s Charles Dickens rhetorically (and self-servingly) liked to contrast low, unruly theater audiences with the ideal orderliness of a "lecture room"; Ibid, 100.

60. Frank Gray, 'Engaging with the magic lantern's history', Ludwig Vogel-Bienek, Richard Crangle (eds.), *Screen culture and the social question 1880-1914* (New Barnet: John Libbey, 2014), 173.

61. In that regard this text is to some extent complementary—"*un autre sujet*"—to: Alain Boillat, 'Le spectacle de lanterne magique considéré sous l'angle de la conférence. Quelques traces écrites d'une performance orale', Kaveh Askari, Scott Curtis, Frank Gray et al. (eds.), *Performing new media, 1890-1915* (New Barnet: John Libbey, 2015), 227-235.

62. Roy Meredith, *Mr. Lincoln's cameraman: Mathew B. Brady* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), [263-362] (the entire section of 'Brady's lecture book' is unpaginated).

63. Ibid., 255.

64. With regard to aspects of voice in printed plays, readers—including at one time, I suppose, actors rehearsing a role—have to be aided by stage directions. See for instance: "MARTHA [*looks about the room. Imitates Bette Davis*]: What a dump. Hey, what's that from? 'What a dump!'" And for spectators who may not have immediately recognized this brief impersonation of the Hollywood film star, the playwright would have been obliged to work an explicit reference into the dialog, which occurs a few lines further down: "MARTHA: It's from some goddamn Bette Davis picture..."; Edward Albee, *Who's afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977 [1962]),11. This, by the way, is one way how performers' ostensible denial of an audience's presence, mentioned above, camouflages their acknowledgment. Educational lantern readings do not use stage directions beyond scare quotes, to suggest irony for instance, as in the following reference to the modernizing efforts in a medieval town: "Rouen, in spite of its 'improvements' and modernized air, is still one of the finest memorial cities of old France."; *Paris Exhibition, 1900* (Bradford: Riley Bros., 1900), 10; MLS.

65. Meredith (1946), [285].

66. Ibid., [292].

67. Ibid., [272], [290], [308], respectively.

68. Erving Goffman, 'Footing', *Forms of talk* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981b), 124-159.

69. Ibid, 131-137.

70. Ibid., 144-146.

71. Kember (November 2010), 419.

72. Goffman (1981b), 148-149.

73. T. Perkins quoted in Kember (November 2010), 425.

74. C. Goodwin Norton, 'Success and non-success of lantern exhibitions', *The Optical Magic Lantern Journal and Photographic Enlarger*, 4, #50 (July 1, 1893), 106.

75. W. I. Chadwick, 'Hire of lantern slides', Ibid., 5, #66 (November 1, 1894), 181.

76. H.A. Sanders, 'Environment', Ibid, 7, #90 (November 1896), 190.

77. Quoted without reference in: Colin Gordon, *By gaslight in winter: a Victorian family history through the magic lantern* (London: Elm Tree Books, 1980), 26.

78. Crouzet ([1897]), 47.

79. *Wegweiser des Lichtbilderdienstes* (1928), 6-7.

80. Joe Kember mentions another threat to the professional lecturer: "To some extent, the more renowned men were simply replaced within major lecturing agencies by new types of performer—such as Nansen, Amundsen or Churchill—who had gained their celebrity in other endeavours, and who came to the lantern on the promise of very large sums of money." See his: 'The "Battle for Attention" in British lantern shows, 1880-920', Dellmann, Kessler (2020), 56. Documentation of popular German travel writer and filmmaker Colin Ross, who had managements in Germany and the U.S.A., shows that for an illustrated lecture tour of fifteen Dutch towns, organized by the German occupier in 1941, he was paid 2,770.50 guilders—in today's money almost €21,000; Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (NIOD), 'Begrooting van ontvangsten en uitgaven van de Nederlandsch-Duitsche Kultuurgemeenschap', June 22, 1942, 2. Archief Nederlandsch-Duitsche Kultuurgemeenschap, 175/12; 'Bericht der Rechnungskontrollstelle', Appendix 8. Ibid., 175/15.

81. Jennifer Tucker, 'Making looking: lantern slides at the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1850-1920', Dellmann, Kessler (2020), 133.

82. Kember (2020), Ibid., 54-56; Richard Crangle, 'Traces of instructional lantern slide use in two English cities', ibid. 127-128; Emily Hayes, '"Nothing but storytellers": from one thousand Royal

Geographical Society lantern slides to a million pictures', ibid., 145-156.

83. *The Spanish-American War. Part II* (London: York & Son, 1898), 19; MLS.

84. *Earthquakes and volcanoes* (Bradford: Riley Brothers, 1910), 4; MLS.

85. James Comper Gray, *The falls of Niagara* (York & Son, n.d.), 5; MLS.

86. *Comment économiser le chauffage domestique et culinaire* (Melun: Imprimerie administrative, 1918), 11, n. 1; BnF.

87. Henri Coupin, *Pasteur* (Melun: Imprimerie administrative, 1904), 5, n. 1; MUNAÉ.

88. Crangle (2004), 90. An analysis of pre-packaged slide sets in an 1892 American catalog shows that most of these, too, "were targeted at smaller exhibitors and home use" as well as "[s]chool houses of moderate size"; Terry Borton, Debbie Borton, 'How many American lantern shows in a year?', Richard Crangle, Mervyn Heard, Ine van Dooren (eds.), *Realms of light: uses and perceptions of the magic lantern from the 17th to the 21st century* (London: Magic Lantern Society, 2005), 114.

89. Examples are: *A year within the Arctic Circle with captain Nares – The bashful man – The five senses* (London: York & Son, ≥1890-≤1893), containing a lecture, comedy, and poem, respectively; the latter two, incidentally, also appear in another compilation, where they are preceded by *The telephone, the microphone, and the phonograph* (London: York & Son, ≥1878); *The romance of history: or, fact and fiction* (London: York & Son, n.d.), a lecture on British historic buildings that segues smoothly into *Aladdin and the magic lantern*; and a series of pre-packaged lantern lecture programs titled *The onward reciter: a choice collection of recitations, readings, and dialogues*, specifically meant for "Band of Hope meetings, Sunday school gatherings, Templar lodges, etc.", was published by various companies for a number decades—the copies in this repository are dated between 1873 and 1905.

90. See for instance: J. Hackin, Le bouddhisme (Paris: Radiguet & Massiot, [1900]); MUNAÉ; Médéric Toureur, *Les croisades* (Melun: Imprimerie administrative, 1905); MUNAÉ.

91. Quoted in: Natali, Mazzoti, Perriault (1978), 16-17.

92. J.W. Wright, 'How to deliver a lecture', *The Optical Lantern and Cinematograph Journal*, vol. 1, #3/6 (January 1905), 67-68, https://archive.org/details/opticallanternci01lond/page/66/mode/2up.

93. Herbert H. Clark, Thomas B. Carlson, 'Hearers and speech acts', *Language*, 58, #2 (June 1982), 342-343. A more or less similar term, orientation to co-participant, comes from conversation analysis; it deals "with an orientation to what you know they know" in recorded, two-person dialogues. See: Harvey Sacks, 'Lecture 5: A single instance of a Q-A pair; Topical versus pair organization; Disaster talk', *Lectures on conversation, volume II*, ed. by Emanuel A. Schegloff (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1995 [1992]), part VIII, 564.

94. Thomas Ryder, *My rambles in Upper Wharfedale, 'Queen of the Yorkshire Dales* (Southampton: White Rose II, 2002 [1907]), 12. This edition is a "shortened text" of the original 133-page, 1907 lantern lecture, reproduced with "prints of over 100 of its large glass slides" and "additional recent photographs" in a 'Then and now' section.

95. Goffman (1981a), 179.

96. In establishing a genealogy of lecturing, more particularly of linking public lantern and film lectures, such recitals would not qualify, at least not in the West.

97. As in: "Dickens in delineating . . . Christmas and its social activities . . . enables us to almost imagine that we hear the joyous laughter of a jolly Christmas party as we read the story;" Charles Dickens, *Gabriel Grub: or, the goblins who stole the sexton* (s.l., s.n., [≥1836]), 189; MLS. Most stories in this repository dispensed with printed introductions.
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98. This can be taken as a gloss on Richard Crangle's statement that "[t]here was . . . quite a range of different requirements for verbal intervention by a lecturer or commentator, varying considerably according to the nature of the text and context."; see: Crangle (2001a), 42.

99. The Catholic Church, too, partly in reaction to the state's alleged anti-clerical propaganda, kept close tabs on its readings published since the early 20th century in periodicals as *L'Ange des Projections lumineuses* and *Les Conférences*. Kessler, Lenk (2020), 63-65.

100. The reading *The romance of history: or, fact and fiction* that will be quoted a number of times hereafter, is exceptional, not only for the smooth change from its eponymous lecture to the story *Aladdin and the magic lantern*, but also for being the liveliest and most 'personal' of all the readings I have seen within the category of lecture. It consistently contains quite a few instances of scripted ritual work that I discuss below.

101. Robert S. Nelson, 'The slide lecture, or the work of art *history* in the age of mechanical reproduction' *Critical Inquiry*, 26, #3 (Spring 2000), 414-434.

102. W. Holt, *L'outillage des grands ports de commerce moderne* (Paris: Gustave Vitry, 1912), 10; MUNAÉ.

103. J.-E. Bulloz, *Basse Normandie. Orne, Calvados, Manche* (Paris: Maison artistique d'Éditions photographiques et de Vulgarisation par l'Image, 1900c), 13; BnF.

104. *Mediterranean shores* (Aberdeen: John Avery & Co, [≥1881]), 40; MLS.

105. Deixis (adj. deictic) is the function of a word that only specifies its referent in a given context. Common examples are personal and demonstrative pronouns, as well as adverbials like "here," "there," "today," and "yesterday".

106. *An architectural tour in Central France* (London: York & Son, n.d. [≤1904]), 12; MLS.

107. *Earthquakes and volcanoes* (1910), 20; MLS.

108. Anne-Marie Bernard, *L'effort de la femme française pendant la guerre* (Melun: Imprimerie administrative, 1919), 10; MUNAÉ.

109. *A bag of holes* (s.l, s.n., n.d.), 3; MLS.

110. *All about a London daily* (London: York & Son, 1898), 1: MLS.

111. Bernard (1919), 8; MUNAÉ.

112. *The romance of history: or, fact and fiction* (London: York & Son, n.d.), 23; MLS.

113. "Lecturers typically took credit for the photographic images that accompanied their talks, even if they had not taken the slides themselves", Jennifer Lynn Peterson writes. Surely the availability of printed lantern readings ever since the late 19th century allowed lecturers to expand their alleged accomplishments. But when she observes that, in the United States, "illustrated travel lectures were

marketed largely on the appeal of the lecturer rather than the subject matter", I suppose this applied mainly to the stars of the business, notably John L. Stoddard, Holmes or Edward L. Wilson, who exerted "a strong authorial presence" over their work. Distributors and publishers that operated on a more industrial scale were more interested, I suppose, in the volume of selling or lending their catalogs of illustrated lectures, regardless of the lecturer; see her: *Education in the school of dreams: travelogues and early nonfiction film* (Durham – London: Duke University Press, 2013), 23-25; X. Theodore Barber, 'The roots of travel cinema: John L. Stoddard, E. Burton Holmes and the ninetheenth-century illustrated travel lecture,' *Film History*, 5, #1 (March 1993), 74.

114. *The finest hundred miles in the Borders* (Edinburgh: Scottish Motor Traction Co. [>1920]), 3; MLS.

115. *The romance of history: or, fact and fiction* (n.d.), 23; MLS.

116. *An architectural tour in Central France* ([≤1904]), 10; MLS. Here the amount of detail strongly suggests that the text—although anonymous—is autobiographical. It makes one wonder whether nonprofessionals felt comfortable presenting such detailed statements, and if so, whether they clipped or dropped them in performance. I presume throughout that nonprofessionals had no hand in composing or redacting the lantern readings.

117. *Fifty wonders in nature and art* (Dundee: Valentine & Sons, ≥1900 - ≤1902]), 3; MLS.

118. *The romance of history: or, fact and fiction* (n.d.), 7.

119. Natali, Mozzati, Perriault (1978), 14.

120. *Paris Exhibition, 1900* (1900), 17; MLS.

121. *All about a London daily* (1898), 22; MLS.

122. Paul Lemosof, *Le Japon* (Melun: Imprimerie administrative, 1904), 3; BnF. The author refers to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 -1905.

123. Gaston Dez, *Salonique* (Melun: Imprimerie administrative, 1916), 14; MUNAÉ.

124. *The Queen's Highland home* (Aberdeen: G.W. Wilson, 1888), 16; MLS.

125. *The romance of history: or, fact and fiction* (n.d.), 7; MLS.
126. 'La patrie', *L'Ange des Projections lumineuses*, 1, #2 (November 15, 1902), 26; BnF.

127. *Wanderings in Bible lands* (Bradford: Riley Brothers, 1887), 3; MLS.

128. Amy Croft, *A day in London* (Dublin: David Baldwin, n.d.), 1st ed., 5; MLS.

129. *A bag of holes* (n.d.), 7: MLS.

130. 'Jésus enfant', *L'Ange des Projections lumineuses*, 1, #4 (January 1903), 54; BnF.

131. *The finest hundred miles in the Borders* ([>1920]), 16; MLS.

132. James Comper Gray, *A year within the Arctic Circle with Captain Nares* (s.l., s.n., ≥1876 - ≤1893), 28-29; MLS.

133. Ernest N. Coulthard, *The Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau in 1910*, 2nd edn. (London: Newton & Co., 1910), 3; MLS.

134. Gaston Dez, *Le front belge, les dunes, l'Yser: Nieuport et les dunes* (Melun: Imprimerie administrative, 1917), 13; MUNAÉ.

135. Auguste Anglès, *Rembrandt* (Melun: Imprimerie administrative, 1914), 22; MUNAÉ.

136. *The Spanish-American War, part II* (s.l., s.n., 1898), 21; MLS.

137. Coupin (1904), 3; MUNAÉ.

138. *Earthquakes and volcanoes* (1910), 13; MLS.

139. *Royal Naval Exhibition, London, 1891* (London, York & Son, 1891), 11; MLS. The quoted lines come from a song about a naval battle during the War of 1812, while "Well done, Condor" was signalled to the British navy's gun vessel of that name during the siege of Alexandria, Egypt, in 1882.

140. Bulloz (1900), 7; BnF.

141. *The Shakespeare country* (Aberdeen, [G.W. Wilson], 1890), 12; MLS.

142. *The life and times of the Rev. John Wesley, the father of Methodism* (s.l., s.n., n.d.), 273; MLS.

143. *A night with Burns* (Dundee: Valentine & Sons, 1893), 3; MLS.

144. *Sir Walter Scott and his country* (Aberdeen: G.W. Wilson, n.d.), passim; MLS.

145. Fernand Cauët, *Corneille* (Paris: Gustave Vitry, 1912); MUNAÉ.

146. *The city of Rochester and its associations with the life of Charles Dickens* (Aberdeen: G.W. Wilson, ≥1878-≤1901): MLS.

147. *The romance of history: or, fact and fiction* (n.d.), 5; MLS.

148. Anglès (1914), 24; MUNAÉ.

149. *The Queen's Highland home* (1888), 8; MLS.

150. *Paris Exhibition, 1900* (1900), 9; MLS.

151. W. Holt, *Les hautes maisons américaines* (Paris: Gustave Vitry, 1914), 4; MUNAÉ.

152. *The world on wings* (s.l., s.n., 1910), 3; MLS.

153. *A day in Oxford* (Aberdeen: G.W. Wilson, ≤1889), 6; MLS.

154. See his brief introduction to his production of HISTORIC NEW ENGLAND (USA, 1946 | color | sound | 21'), at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZhcAfFZdvpU.

155. Press release 'A world thought lost is found', Burton Holmes Historical Collection (October 20, 2004), https://www.burtonholmes.org/rediscovery/release.html.

156. E. Burton Holmes, 'Foreword', in: *The Burton Holmes Lectures, vol. I: Into Morocco* (Battle Creek, MI: Little-Preston, 1901), [9].

157. Barber (March 1993), 79-82; Peterson (2013), 37-39.

158. E. Burton Holmes, *Burton Holmes Travelogues, vol. 12: The Yellowstone National Park* (Chicago – New York: The Travelogue Bureau, 1914 [1910]) 6-7.

159. Peterson (2013), 24.

160. While American photographer Edward L. Wilson's published travel lectures *were* heavily used by amateurs, their design may

well have been purposely adapted to this use, as they closely resembled the printed brochures discussed in this paper; see: *Wilson's lantern journeys: a series of descriptions of journeys at home and abroad for use with photographic views, the stereoscope, and magic lantern, vol. III* (Philadelphia: Edward L. Wilson, 1883); Barber (March 1993), 69.

161. Holmes (1901), [9].

162. Bauman (1977), 11.

163. Ibid., 5.

164. Richard Crangle, 'Lantern readings', David Robinson, Stephen Herbert, Crangle (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of the magic lantern* (London: Magic Lantern Society, 2001b), 248-249

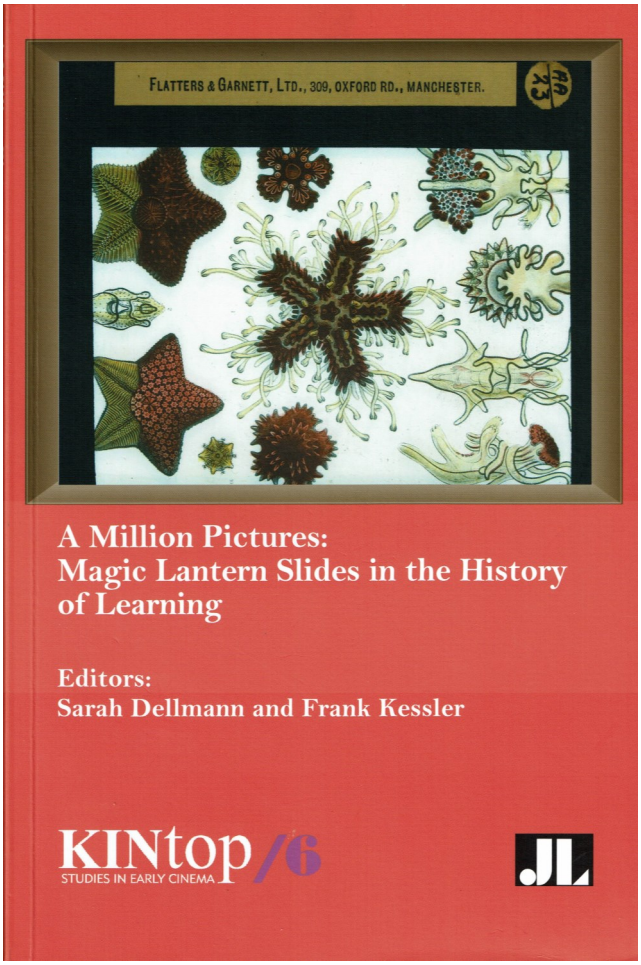
165. Barber (1993), 69. See also note 115.

166. Jack Lieb, D-DAY TO GERMANY (USA; footage shot in 1944, lecture recorded in 1976) 16mm | Kodachrome; b-w | sound | 47'; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fJVaaoRAUGg. Lieb's family donated this compilation to NARA in 1984; see: https://unwritten-record.blogs.archives.gov/2014/06/05/a-newsreel-cameramans-view-of-d-day/.

167. For comparison, see the mass of largely unillustratred, academic lectures performed in recent times uploaded to YouTube.

168. Goffman's essay on footing opened with a quoted journalistic report that featured changes of footing that were, besides being obvious, also socially significant; see Goffman (1981b), 124-125.

169. Ryder (2002), 11.


FLATTERS & GARNETT, LTD., 309, OXFORD RD., MANCHESTER.
A Million Pictures:
Magic Lantern Slides in the History of Learning
Editors:
Sarah Dellmann and Frank Kessler
KINtop /6
STUDIES IN EARLY CINEMA
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Sarah Dellmann and Frank Kessler, eds. 2020. *A Million Pictures: Magic Lantern Slides in the History of Learning.* John Libbey, New Barnet UK. 311 pages. Illustrated. ISBN 978-0861967353. $32.00 (paperback).

This volume marks the culmination of the cooperative research project, *A Million Pictures: Magic Lantern Slide Heritage as Artefacts in the Common Europan History of Learning*, which involved scholars from several European universities, as well as several museums and libraries and independent researchers and artists. The contributions are derived from an academic conference in Utrecht, The Netherlands, in 2017. Although the focus is on academic research, there is something here for anyone with a serious interest in magic lantern culture, and the reasonable price of the volume makes it accessible to a wide audience. Part of the KINtop Series on Early Cinema, this volume sits somewhere between a special issue of an academic journal and a book, in that contributions are not given chapter numbers. An unfortunate feature is the lack of an index, which reduces its usefulness as a scholarly book. Nevertheless, it marks a milestone in the evolution of magic lantern studies.

The volume begins with introductory essays by the editors outlining the history and objectives of the Million Pictures project and recent developments in magic lantern studies. Serious interest in the magic lantern by collectors and a few scholars took off in the 1970s with the formation of the Magic Lantern Society in the UK and the Magic Lantern Society of the United States and Canada. In those days, discussions of magic lanterns appeared in the context of pre-cinema history in such pioneering books as Martin Quigley's *Magic Shadows* (1960), Olive Cook's *Movement in Two Dimensions* (1963), and C. W. Ceram's *Archaeology of the Cinema* (1965). Publications of the two magic lantern societies helped build an interest in the magic lantern as a cultural phenomenon in its own right, but several decades passed before research on magic lanterns was taken seriously by academic institutions and publishers. Now the picture has changed dramatically, with academic studies of magic lantern history and culture taking hold in Europe, North America, Asia, and Latin America.

The main body of this book is divided into seven thematic sections which may appeal to slightly different audiences. The first, *Histories of Lantern Slides: Artefacts, Performance and Reception*, explores the many uses of lantern slides in 19th century Britain, the Netherlands, Russia, Australia, and the United States. Sarah Dellmann starts off with a short discussion of a German slide series, *Projektion für Alle*, issued from 1906 to about 1928, with a heavy emphasis on geography. Her first illustration is a lantern reading on "Wandering through Switzerland" of the type discussed by Nico de Klerk in his feature article. She also includes one of the fine quality photographic slides that accompanied this reading . Using slide sets on the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland as a case study, she analyzes the ways in which the texts of the readings illuminate the images on the slides. She shows that readings on different countries often had a distinctive focus, from an emphasis on national character to geographic locations of interest to tourists.

Martyn Jolly explores the widespread use of the magic lantern in the Australian colonies, drawing heavily on contempory newspaper accounts. Not surprisingly, British manufacturers supplied most the slides and equipment used in Australia, and magic lantern shows often appealed to colonial nostalgia for scenes of the home country. Jolly describes the various types of magic lantern shows offered to colonial audiences, from phantasmagoria shows and dissolving views to photographs of distant lands. From contemporary accounts, he is able to examine the behavior of audiences, which often were "drunk, rowdy and combative," especially in the early 19th century, when presentations often were less than perfect. As lantern shows became increasingly professional, Jolly argues that the magic lantern helped to pacify audiences with the shared experience of lantern shows across the disparate Australian colonies.

Joe Kember describes the "battle for attention" in British magic lantern shows after 1880. Using a comprehensive survey of contemporary newspapers, he documents the dramatic growth of lantern exhibitions, especially educational lectures, with a peak around 1902 to 1912. He argues that magic lantern shows and lectures changed from occasional entertainments in the 1880s to an ever-present part of British culture, with a corresponding growth in the lantern and slide manufacturing industry.

The three remaining contributions on lantern slide history are relatively brief case studies. Nadezhda Stanulevich discusses the spectacular early color images of Tsarist Russia produced by Sergey Prokudin-Gorskii and used in his lantern slide travelogue lectures. Portuguese researchers Márcia Vilarigues and Vanessa Otero provide a preliminary report on an investigation of techniques used to produce hand-painted lantern slides. Finally, Claire Dupré la Tour discusses the use of lantern slides as title slides for early motion pictures, arguing that the magic lantern remained an integral part of cinema presentations in the first part of the 20th century.

The second section, on *Lantern Slides in Educational Contexts*, includes three contributions, two of which focus on particular collections of slides. Anna Grasskamp, Wing Ki Lee, and Suk Mei Irene Wong examine a collection of photographic slides produced by American and European missionaries between 1900 and 1930 and currently housed at the Hong Kong Baptist University Library. The authors identify three categories of slides in the collection: those documenting missionary activities in China; those showing missionized Chinese people, such as church congregations; and those depicting scenes of Chinese life without any obvious missionary context. Their analysis focuses on the last group, which includes photographs of "typical" Chinese subjects often seen in other Western images: children braiding hair into long "pigtails," opium smokers, acrobats, everyday activities such as basket making, Chinese junks, sedan chairs, and other modes of transportation. The authors view these as valuable sources for visual anthropology, even though these artefacts were not created by Chinese people themselves.

A brief contribution by Angélique Quillay examines the surviving collection of over 3000 lantern slides used by Dr. Thomas Kirkbride to entertain patients at the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, starting in

1857. A published catalogue of these slides has been available since 1992, but the slides themselves have seldom been studied. Most of the slides acquired by Dr. Kirkbride before 1858 are British-made hand-painted or hand-colored copper plate engravings. In 1858, Kirkbride began acquiring photographic lantern slides and glass stereoviews from the Langenheim Brothers, and these comprise the bulk of the slides used in later presentations. The Kirkbride-Langenheim collaboration has been studied extensively by previous scholars, including George Layne, Emily Godbey, and Beth Haller and Robin Larsen, although curiously the relevant papers are not cited here.

The most unusual contribution to this section is Machiko Kusahara's account of the magic lantern as an educational tool in late 19th centry Japan, as seen in a spectacular "Magic Lantern Board Game on Eduction." This *Sugoroku*, a traditional "game of life" board game, depicts lantern slides used for a lecture on education and a scene of the lecturer presenting slides to his audience.

Portion of Japanese magic lantern game board (1889).

The next section of the book, *Teaching Science with Lantern Slides*, includes several contributions that should be of interest to a wide audience. Richard Crangle explores surviving educational slide sets from institutions in two English cities, Manchester and Exeter. Eventually these slides will be digitized for the Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource. The first is a large collection of slides from the Manchester Geographical Society, used in public lectures at the Society's auditorium and for a lecture service offered to local schools and charities. The second is a collection of slides at the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter, used in free public lectures in the early 1900s that covered a wide range of subjects from natural history to literature. Lectures were presented by men and women on the staff of the museum, as well as local naturalists and other citizens. In his discussions of these collections, Crangle mostly summarizes the history and current state of the collections, but does not attempt a detailed content analysis of the slides, leaving that to future researchers.

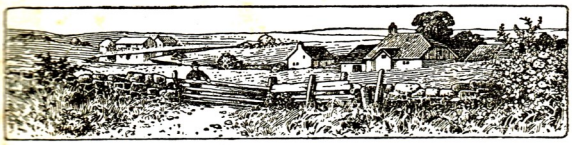
Jennifer Tucker explores the use of photographic slides at meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, with some overlap with her chapter on the same subject in the book on *The Magic Lantern at Work*, reviewed in the Winter 2019 issue of the *Gazette*. The BAAS was heavily focused on educating the public about discoveries in all fields of science, and she argues that lantern slides played a key role in shaping public perceptions of science.

Emily Hayes continues her detailed research on the use of lantern slides by the Royal Geographical Society, focusing her contribution on the surviving slide collections, which she digitized for the Lucerna web resource. She discusses some of the lecturers who used these slides to illustrate talks on subjects from foreign travel, cultural anthropology, and mountain climbing to arctic exploration. A particularly interesting section focuses on the increasing role of female lecturers in the early 20th century.

Joseph Wachelder considers the role of magic lanterns, particularly chromatropes, and other optical toys such as color wheels and spinning tops in the popularization of science in the 19th century.

The next three sections of the book, *Concepts of Lantern Historiography*, *Museums and Archive Practic*es, and *Performance and Re-use beyond the Magic Lantern*, include a wide range of material, from classifying the content of lantern slides to examinations of particular museum and archival collections and the re-use of lantern slides in new contexts. These are too numerous to discuss in detail here. Despite the section headings, there is considerable overlap across sections. For example, Sabine Lenk discusses the re-use of "classical canon" (attractive and spectacular slides used by modern lantenists for entertaining shows) and "out-of canon" slides (less attractive slides originally used for educational purposes). She refers to companion pieces by Kurt Vanhoutte and Nele Wynants, all part of the same research program, which appear in a different section of the book. Much of this material will appeal mostly to serious scholars, although some general readers may find them interesting as well.

The final contribution is a fascinating piece by Erkki Huhtamo on the etymology of the word "screen" in several languages as part of a larger history of the screen as a component of magic lantern practice.



LANTERN LECTURES

WITHOUT THE SLIDES.

LECTURE I.

The Fjords and Falls of Norway.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have asked you to come here to-night to see some views of Norway. Our recent trip to that country afforded us great enjoyment, and we would like to share the pleasure with you, to the extent of showing you some pictures of the places we saw. Instead of asking you to see photographs in an album, we rather bring slides to the hall and exhibit them on the screen. This screen then is to be considered our photographic album of views, and as each picture appears we will endeavour to describe it, and tell something of our holiday experiences in that country.

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Front and Back Covers: From 1888 through 1906, Scottish clergyman C. W. Scrimgeour and his wife made frequent trips abroad to various destinations in Europe, the Middle East, and the United States. They documented these trips with lantern slides either purchased from commercial dealers or made from their own photographs. They presented these to friends and parishioners on Lantern Nights at their mission in Cherryfield Hall, Dundee. These talks were summarized in *Lantern Lectures Without the Slides* (Dundee, 1907). The book contains only one illustration, a drawing of the couple on camels at the pyramids in Egypt. The audience for the book is unclear. Unlike the Lantern Readings discussed by Nico de Klerk in his feature article, the texts were not tied to a particular set of slides, making it difficult for readers to reproduce the lecture experience. The authors made the somewhat impractical suggestion of collecting picture postcards to substitute for the slides.